

## Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible

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# Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible

*Edited by*

Eyal Poleg and Laura Light



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*To the memory of Murray Light, 1926–2011, LL*  
*To Arielbaz, ne scias, EP*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	London, British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BNC	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1971- )
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina (Turnhout, 1954- )
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum (Vienna, 1866- )
De Hamel, <i>The Book</i>	Christopher de Hamel, <i>The Book. A History of the Bible</i> (London and New York, 2001)
KBR	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België/ Bibliothèque royale de Belgique
Ker, <i>MMBL</i>	N. R. Ker, <i>Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries</i> (Oxford, 1969–2002)
Laur.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
PL	Patrologiae cursus completes, series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–66)
Stegmüller	Fridericus Stegmüller, <i>Repertorium biblicum medii aevi</i> , 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950–1980)





## INTRODUCTION

Eyal Poleg and Laura Light

The beginning of the thirteenth century was a pivotal period for medieval culture and religion. It saw important changes, including the establishment of the first universities in Paris, Oxford and Bologna, and the approval of the Franciscans and Dominicans, mendicant orders dedicated to preaching and pastoral care. Parallel with these changes, and closely linked to them, was the transformation of the Latin Vulgate, and the creation of new Bibles destined to become the quintessential companion of students and traveling preachers. Originating at the University of Paris and the centres of learning in southern England, these Bibles were an immediate success. One of the most popular books of the Middle Ages – surviving in hundreds of manuscripts – they were disseminated throughout Western Christendom and used for study and preaching, private devotion and public liturgy.

The physical appearance and organization of these new Bibles, seen in manuscripts as early as ca. 1230, established the norm for Bibles for centuries to come. Latin Bibles compiled between 1230 and 1450 are strikingly similar in appearance, attesting to the success of this new presentation of the biblical text. Their appearance in turn influenced some vernacular Bibles, responding to the needs of an increasingly devout and literate laity. Ultimately their legacy extended long beyond the Middle Ages. Gutenberg's celebrated 42-line Bible replicated the layout of a thirteenth-century manuscript, and its influence can be traced in printed copies down to the present day.

Despite their popularity and importance in the history of the medieval Vulgate, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Bibles have never been studied systematically, and even lack a widely accepted name.<sup>1</sup> The "Late

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<sup>1</sup> Recently, thirteenth-century Bibles have been examined in: *La Bibbia del XIII secolo: storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi. Convegno della Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino (SISMEL), Firenze, 1–2 giugno 2001*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi (Florence, 2004); *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, Scuola vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica (Vatican City, 2005). A general survey is Christopher de Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (New York and London, 2001), pp. 114–39.

Medieval Bible” is a new term, created for the present volume. It denotes a large group of Latin Bibles (and their vernacular counterparts), copied between ca. 1230–1450 across Europe. Although they range widely in place of origin, nature of use and level of production, these manuscripts share important paratextual features. The vast majority are pandects, or single-volume copies. While pandects did exist from the early Middle Ages, they were large and cumbersome objects, few and far between. One of the great achievements of thirteenth-century book-making was the production of complete Bibles (in excess of 700,000 words) that were small enough to comfortably fit in a large pocket or small satchel. Their portability – and relative affordability – made it possible for the first time to take the Bible on the road – a feature especially appealing to the friars. Their layout and addenda quickly became synonymous with biblical reading, presenting the text in a two-column layout, with running titles in alternating red and blue identifying the biblical books, and clearly numbered modern chapter divisions (their most celebrated feature). These Bibles typically include the Interpretations of Hebrew Names, a glossary to the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek proper names in the Vulgate. Their layout influenced the format and presentation of vernacular copies, and was superimposed on earlier ones, as well as on Hebrew and Greek Bibles used by Latin scholars. Appearance is therefore central to the definition of the Late Medieval Bible, and in turn has influenced its modern analysis.

Despite their historical significance and the number of surviving manuscripts, a concern with the most accurate text of the Vulgate has served to marginalise the Late Medieval Bible.<sup>2</sup> While the few Carolingian copies, for example, have been scrutinised time and again, the hundreds of later specimens have received only passing reference. Historians of the Vulgate have focused on earlier manuscripts as important witnesses to Jerome’s original text, giving little attention to later Bibles whose textual accuracy has been challenged virtually from their moment of inception.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For early criticism, see Roger Bacon, *Opus minus*, ed. John S. Brewer, Rolls Series 15 (London, 1895), p. 333; idem, *Opus maius*, ed. Samuel Jebb (London 1733), p. 49; his words were analysed by Laura Light, “Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible”, *Revue Bénédictine* 111 (2001), 483–507.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Berger, *De l’histoire de la Vulgate en France: Leçon d’ouverture faite à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris le 4 Novembre 1887* (Paris, 1887); idem, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1893); Henry Quentin, *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate: 1<sup>ère</sup> partie Octateuque*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 6 (Rome-Paris, 1922); Hans H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: Being an Inquiry into the Text of Some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge, 1933).

Late Medieval Bibles as a whole have attracted little scholarly attention. Two sub-groups, however, were identified and mined for information on medieval universities and the book trade. The common term for the first group is “Paris Bibles”, a testimony to the most important centre of Bible production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; a town where a thriving commercial book trade and a vibrant university environment converged to create a unique and influential manuscript culture.<sup>4</sup> The term “Paris Bible” refers to Bibles that share a specific order of the biblical books, accompanied by a standard set of prologues, modern chapter divisions, the inclusion of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names and the omission of earlier *capitula* lists, as well as characteristic readings within the text. Bibles of this type were first produced in Paris ca. 1230. Since Paris Bibles were also copied outside of Paris, and not all Bibles copied in Paris are examples of this type of text, the potential confusion of terminology and geography is evident. This has generated some uneasiness among scholars, witnessed by the use of inverted commas or the term, “the so-called Paris Bible”, which became a general synonym for the new Bible of the thirteenth century. We would suggest here that the term Paris Bible is best used (as it was originally intended) for the smaller, sub-group of the Late Medieval Bible that share a common text. Another sub-group is that of “pocket Bibles” or “portable Bibles”, alluding to one of the most striking features of post-1230 Bibles.<sup>5</sup> This group encompasses Bibles whose

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<sup>4</sup> This group has been explored by J. P. P. Martin, “La Vulgate latine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d’après Roger Bacon”, *Le Muséon* 7 (1888), 88–107, 169–96, 278–91, 381–93; idem, “Le texte Parisien de la Vulgate Latine”, *Le Muséon* 8 (1889), 444–66; 9 (1890), 55–70, 301–16; Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis: A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977); Laura Light, “French Bibles c. 1200–30: A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible” in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155–76; eadem, “The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible” in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly (New York, 2011), pp. 228–246; eadem, “The Thirteenth Century and the Paris Bible”, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: Volume 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 380–391; and Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500* (Turnhout, 2000). A standard description of a “Paris Bible” is London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1364 in Ker, *MMBL*, vol. I: London (Oxford, 1969), pp. 96–97.

<sup>5</sup> This group is at the core of the works of Josephine Case Schnurman, *Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to the Copying of Bibles*, B. Litt. Thesis, St. Hilda’s College (St. Hilda’s (Oxford, 1960); de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 114–39; Rosanna Miriello, “La Bibbia portatile de origine italiana del XIII secolo: Brevi considerazioni e alcuni esempi”, *La Bibbia del XIII secolo*, pp. 47–77.

measurements rendered them easily portable (measuring 200 mm or less in length, or combined length plus height of 450 mm or less, are common designations), and bear witness to the extraordinary craftsmanship of medieval scribes, parchmenters and illuminators. As this group is based on one primary criterion, it omits numerous other contemporary manuscripts, ranging in size from the minute to the monumental, whose layout is nevertheless strikingly similar.

Terminology is far from a mere trifle. It is indicative of new questions and an innovative methodology. The emerging disciplines of book history and material culture have directed scholarly attention to manuscripts as more than containers of texts. In recent years scholars have begun to engage with a more complex understanding of medieval manuscripts as cultural artifacts, witnesses to users and readers, religious beliefs and cultural practices.<sup>6</sup> As the essays in this volume demonstrate, the multi- and inter-disciplinary study of the Late Medieval Bible reveals the merits of such a methodology. A pan-European phenomenon, its pages encode liturgical customs and preaching techniques, traces of production and of diverse reading strategies. The present volume was devised as a stage in this analysis. The traditional inquiries into text and exegesis are addressed throughout the book. Its main emphasis, however, is on use and appearance, form and function, drawing on expertise in art history, liturgy, exegesis, preaching and manuscript studies. Individual essays trace the link between biblical addenda and liturgy, between sermons and textual divisions, or between monastic reforms and Bible production. The book is divided into two parts. The first charts the evolution and use of the Late Medieval Bible through an investigation of size, illumination, textual divisions, place within libraries or in the hands of friars, and the variety of its addenda. The second traces Bibles in Italian, French and English, and challenges the Latin-vernacular dichotomy by showing the links, as well as

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<sup>6</sup> This methodology derives from questions raised by codicologists (e.g. L.M.J. Delaissé, "Towards a History of the Medieval Book", *Codicologica* 1 [1976], 75–83), later accepted by a wider group of medievalists. Important methodological discussion found in the special edition of *Speculum* 65:1 (1990). Most works on book history engage primarily with print culture. The value of its methodologies to the medieval manuscript is evident in Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia, 2002); *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (Abingdon, 2008). The convergence of religious history and book studies is evident in: Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven, 2006); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008), part ii. "Reading and Religion", pp. 69–103.

discrepancies, between Late Medieval Bibles and their vernacular counterparts.

Information encoded on the pages of Late Medieval Bibles reflects their place in the world of scribes and artists, patrons and readers. The essays in this volume address the nature and structure of quires, illumination, marginal annotations, rubrics and addenda. While some engage in an in-depth analysis of individual manuscripts and their use by successive readers, other employ quantitative and qualitative analyses of a wide sample. The study of Bibles from Italy, England, Northern France and Bohemia, unearths features common to Late Medieval Bibles as a whole, as well as pointing to ones that were unique to certain points in space and time. Such geographical inclusiveness follows the medieval evidence, which tells of the movement of manuscripts and scribes across Europe. Universities attracted large numbers of international students and masters, who took their books with them when they graduated; scribes and artists likewise moved between countries and international teams catered for the needs of patrons; and the mendicants orders were pan-European in nature and friars spread ideas, techniques and manuscripts as they took to the road or moved from one house to the next.

This volume begins in the period before the creation of the Late Medieval Bible, exploring the links between biblical production and monastic reform. The following essays range from the late-twelfth to the mid-fifteenth century and trace Bibles throughout Europe. A few facets of use and appearance run like a thread throughout them. Arguably the most celebrated feature of the Late Medieval Bible is its chapter divisions. Commonly attributed to Stephen Langton (†1228), they were adopted as standard in Bibles throughout Europe, and are still used in Bibles today. The genesis of modern chapters is here traced to late twelfth-century England, challenging both the attribution to Langton as well as its Paris origin. Their reception is then explored through their application to earlier Bibles and their appearance in vernacular Bibles and sermons in Italy. These chapter divisions were also at the basis of a common addendum to biblical manuscripts, the *Summarium Biblicum*, which condensed each chapter to a single word, thus creating a mnemonic aid, albeit one whose actual use is less than evident. A different type of addendum – the tables of lections affixed to Wycliffite Bibles – likewise made use of them to make the Bible more accessible to inexperienced readers.

Late Medieval Bibles spread from Paris and England, causing ripples all through Latin Christendom. A survey of pocket Bibles demonstrates similarities and differences between France, England and Italy, linking layout

and writing support. The movement of manuscripts is explored in the use of a Paris Bible in Durham Cathedral Priory. National differences and similarities are evident from the studies of vernacular Bibles in English, French and Italian. The range of manuscripts, from the workmanlike collections of Italian merchants to the majestic *Bibles historiales*, demonstrates the personalisation of the biblical text and the wide variety of reading strategies it facilitated. The careful analysis of the English examples reveals that although Wycliffite Bibles have commonly been associated with the Lollard heresy, their manuscript culture links them, time and again, to orthodox patrons and practices.

The appearance of Bibles engaged in a subtle dialogue with other forms of scriptural mediation. Preachers were among the foremost readers of biblical manuscripts, and the popularity of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names should be seen in the context of contemporaneous changes in preaching techniques. Liturgy also influenced the use and appearance of biblical manuscripts. An important group of Late Medieval Bibles includes liturgical texts for the Mass, primarily Missals; education during the night office reverberated in the illuminations of Romanesque monastic Bibles. The special characteristics of some biblical books influenced both their appearance and mediation. This is most evident in the Psalms, whose layout is distinct in the vast majority of Late Medieval Bibles (a topic not explored here, but one well-worth further investigation). The Book of Lamentations likewise received a unique layout, and the study of John Pecham's (†1292) commentary reveals an early awareness of this complexity. A glossed manuscript of the Pauline Epistles with marginal comments by members of the earliest Dominican community in Bologna, demonstrates the link between appearance, exegesis and preaching.

The Late Medieval Bible was one of the key cultural artifacts of its time. The transformation in biblical reading, which began in a handful of academic centres, gradually made its way to wider audiences; features which were constructed for a learned Latin audience were later employed to facilitate lay access to the Scriptures. Similarly, the surge of production of Latin Bibles in the thirteenth century, equipping at first preachers and university students, gradually made its way to the less learned circles, extending to new lay audiences and paving the road to the wide dissemination of Bibles with print and the Reformation. This phenomenon, like many other facets of the Late Medieval Bible, has yet to be fully explored. The current volume aims at directing scholarly attention to the Late Medieval Bible, and offers directions in its analysis. Understanding biblical reading practices in conjunction with the rise of lay literacy is a new

field of investigation, as is the link between material culture and religious practice, permeating the pages of Late Medieval Bibles. The information encoded in illumination and rubrics, readers' annotations and addenda can shed new light on medieval (and early modern) reading, academic pursuits, private devotion and the book trade. There is a need both for detailed analyses of individual manuscripts, particularly Bibles with marginal notes and commentaries, as well as for broader comparative and diachronic investigations. We hope that this volume may inspire future studies of a wide range of topics, including investigation of the variations in chapters and their sub-divisions and of codicological details such as writing support or quire structure; research into the many non-biblical texts that circulated in manuscripts of the Late Medieval Bibles; and the examination of questions related to the storage of biblical manuscripts and their place in medieval libraries, treasuries, or other locations, as well as their use – in commentaries and exegesis, in the liturgy and in sermons. Concomitant with further studies of the Late Medieval Bibles themselves should be the creation of new models for their analysis and cataloguing; important topics that will benefit from a collaborative approach.<sup>7</sup>

The essays in the present volume raise questions about many aspects of the Late Medieval Bible, ranging from the comprehensibility of biblical aids, through the attribution of the new chapter divisions to Stephen Langton, to the heterodox nature of Wycliffite Bibles. Significantly, these studies of Latin and vernacular manuscripts put the very definition of a Bible into question. From the thirteenth century, pandects were established as the predominant form of the Latin Bible, but this was far from true of vernacular versions. Wycliffite Bibles mirrored Late Medieval Bibles in appearance, but typically included only a few New Testament Books; Italian Bibles were personal objects, copied in scripts commonly used for commerce and only rarely containing the full biblical Canon; French Bibles, often long and richly illuminated, included extensive non-biblical passages. All these books were Bibles in the later Middle Ages, challenging us to expand our understanding of the Bible – a book whose sanctity extended beyond its text.

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<sup>7</sup> In June 2012, a two-day workshop at the University of Edinburgh brought together scholars of biblical manuscripts to begin exploring methodological questions related to the analysis and cataloguing of the Late Medieval Bible. It is intended that this will mature into a major research project in the future.





## THE BIBLE AS BELLWETHER: MANUSCRIPT BIBLES IN THE CONTEXT OF SPIRITUAL, LITURGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM, 1000–1200

Diane J. Reilly

As any student of Late Medieval Bibles knows well, it is dangerous to generalize about classes of manuscripts. The Bibles penned in medieval scriptoria can exhibit a remarkable degree of variation, as manuscripts were tailor-made for a specific person and setting and the use he or she had in mind for it, and even a scribe, artist or binder intent on uniformity could unknowingly introduce heterogeneity. Nonetheless, as with the Late Medieval Bible, often copied in secular workshops for commercial sale but occasionally still tailored to a commissioner, the giant or lectern Bibles that dominated Bible production before them can be defined based on a common set of characteristics inspired by the function for which they were designed. A case study of lectern Bibles used and copied in religious communities in and around the city of Reims, and in the Grande Chartreuse, near Grenoble, will show that this function was common to diverse institutions, and caused the Bible to be adapted and refashioned over time to serve that end more efficiently. Successive generations of reformers, from the late-tenth-century monks and canons in the circle of the Archbishop of Reims to the early-twelfth-century Carthusians, employed the same techniques to modify their manuscripts for a specific use, suggesting that early tactics used to allow a Bible to function most effectively had a lasting legacy. Furthermore, whether monks or canons belonged to the same religious institution, movement or diocese, they may have exchanged information about how best to modify and use their manuscripts in the interest of improving spiritual life. With that in mind, I will set the stage with a few general observations.

It is almost universally acknowledged that from the tenth through the twelfth centuries, the vast majority of complete Bibles were copied and decorated in a monastic context, and were intended to be used by monks or regular canons.<sup>1</sup> Most parish priests and secular canons were not overly

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<sup>1</sup> The literature on biblical manuscripts of the tenth through twelfth centuries is immense. Useful introductions to the manuscript tradition can be found in Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, 1982); de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 64–91; and Lawrence

concerned with the demanding *lectio divina*, and parish priests especially had the most basic and utilitarian of libraries,<sup>2</sup> dedicated primarily to the simple tasks requisite in serving their congregations.<sup>3</sup> Reading of Scripture, on the other hand, lay at the heart of regular life in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Monks and canons dedicated their energies to reading, embracing and consuming Scripture as a means of personal spiritual progress.<sup>4</sup> Meditation on the Scriptures occupied monks and regular canons literally day and night, whether in a liturgical context or in their private, individual reading.<sup>5</sup> These activities conditioned the kinds of manuscripts necessary to the task, and thus the type produced in monasteries.

Second, and related to this, Scripture was fundamental to the elementary grammatical and spiritual education of monks and regular canons. The goals of the reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though heterogeneous in their leaders, motivations and the appearance of the resulting communities, all presumed that novices, typically well-born, would become literate.<sup>6</sup> Once professed, it was assumed that, given enough preliminary instruction, monks or canons were capable of eventually achieving competency in individual meditation on Scripture, and that this would become an aspect of their vocation. While all of the newly founded, highly organized reform orders in this period, such as the

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Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe" in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA, 1999), pp. 121–177.

<sup>2</sup> A useful comparison of relative library size appears in Ewe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch* (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 190–198, although it deals only with Germany.

<sup>3</sup> The essential books for a parish priest would include the books necessary for the celebration of the liturgy, such as an Ordinal, Missal, Antiphonal and Troper, a Penitential for the guidance of his flock, and perhaps some rudimentary theological or scriptural works to provide material for sermons. A priest could observe the divine office using a Breviary, while devotional reading material was often provided by a Psalter or prayer book. The service books available in parish libraries are described by Nigel Morgan in "Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* vol. 2:1100–1400, ed. idem and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 291–316, although its evidence is primarily from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

<sup>4</sup> This process has been explored by Brian Stock in *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 403–54.

<sup>5</sup> The classic work on this subject is Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1982), originally published as *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu; initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1957). See also Isabelle Cochemin, "When Monks Were the Book" in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York, 2011), pp. 61–83.

<sup>6</sup> The best recent introduction to the reforms of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries is Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998).

Cistercians, the Gilbertines, and the Premonstratensians, incorporated demands for increased diligence in the study of Scripture into their rhetoric, the most rigorous application of this principle was found in the Carthusian order, established by Bruno, chancellor of the Cathedral of Reims, in 1084. Bruno and six companions, including two Reims canons, left Reims and eventually migrated to the Grande Chartreuse in the mountainous wilderness near Grenoble, with the intention of living in utter solitude and devoting themselves to the enrichment of their souls through solitary prayer and meditation. Following profession, each Carthusian read intensively in his cell for hours every day, in addition to copying manuscripts, and joined his fellow monks chiefly for the night office readings.<sup>7</sup> Thus surviving Carthusian Bibles should exhibit evidence of how they were adapted to suit these functions.

Third, just as reading was, before the thirteenth century, primarily an oral act, whether undertaken individually or communally, education in Scripture was also oral. For oblates and young novices, elementary introduction to Scripture would have taken place in the monastic *schola* and while they were being instructed in chant.<sup>8</sup> The austere new orders of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries by and large rejected the practice of child oblation,<sup>9</sup> and the education of older novices may have taken place less formally in the cloister. Nonetheless, much of their first exposure to Scripture would have occurred in the choir during the night office and in the refectory, where in most reformed orders the entire Bible was read cyclically in those two venues, usually over the course of a year. As the twelfth-century commentator Hugh of Saint Victor explained, those able to learn must “be able to grasp easily what they hear, and retain firmly what they grasp”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2007), pp. 27–77.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1978), pp. 458–68; on the formative period of medieval Christian education, see Susan Boynton, “Boy singers in medieval monasteries and cathedrals” in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. eadem and Eric Rice, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 7 (Woodbridge, Eng., 2008), pp. 37–48 at p. 38, and Jean-Yves Tilliette, “Le vocabulaire des écoles monastiques d’après les prescriptions des ‘consuetudines’ (XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)” in *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d’enseignement au moyen âge*, Actes du colloque Rome 21–22 octobre 1989, ed. Olga Weijers (Turnout, 1992), pp. 60–72 at pp. 65–66. See also Katherine Zieman, *Singing a New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 5–18, on the fraught historiography and diverse mandates of medieval “song schools”.

<sup>9</sup> J. H. Lynch, “The Cistercians and Underage Novices”, *Cîteaux: commentarii cistercienses* 24 (1973) 283–97, and Constable, *The Reformation*, pp. 197–198.

<sup>10</sup> “...ut facile audita percipiat et percepta firmiter retineat” in Hugh of Saint Victor, *Didascalicon, de studio legendi*, III.6, ed. Charles Henry Buttmer (Washington, D.C., 1939),

Potentially harder to pin down is the role that surviving biblical manuscripts might have played in the process of educating and indoctrinating postulants to a religious vocation, and facilitating their spiritual growth. In itself, the simultaneity of religious reform and the appearance of new lectern Bibles is suggestive. Each successive wave of reform engendered the production of new, frequently mammoth, very heavy and lavishly decorated single or multi-volume biblical manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> Dioceses and individual houses could be reformed many times in succession by different reforming movements, and foundations sometimes produced multiple sets of these "Giant Bibles", though usually no more than one was redacted each generation.<sup>12</sup> Large-format Bibles were still produced in the late Middle Ages; a good example is the large Paris Bible preserved as Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.3, discussed by Richard Gameson in this volume. All the same, the number of these copied declined drastically in relative terms, as small, portable, single-volume Bibles frequently written in tiny script found favor with later purchasers. The fact that a manuscript is large and lavish does not mean it was intended for liturgical use. Instead, outsized and expensive volumes were occasionally commissioned as showpieces, rarely used and sequestered between occasions for display.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, the Bibles that survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries provide plenty of evidence for the role they played in the spiritual, liturgical and educational lives of newly reformed monks and canons, even when it is difficult to associate a given Giant Bible with a specific reforming moment. Like the thirteenth-century Paris Bibles, which could potentially meet various needs for a biblical text but heralded the new primacy of the university and its form of education, Romanesque lectern Bibles mark the final flowering of the medieval monastic method of pedagogy.

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p. 57; discussed in Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary on Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago, 1993), p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> Diane J. Reilly, "Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform in the Central Middle Ages" in *The Practice of the Bible*, pp. 105–25.

<sup>12</sup> Diane J. Reilly, "French Romanesque Giant Bibles and their English Relatives: Blood Relatives or Adopted Children?", *Scriptorium* 56 (2002) 294–311.

<sup>13</sup> John Lowden, "Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations" in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 17–53 at pp. 32–39.

## THE ADVENT OF THE ROMANESQUE LECTERN BIBLE

Giant Bibles originated in the archdiocese of Reims and in Italy in the eleventh century in the wake of the Gregorian Reform.<sup>14</sup> One thread which connects many of the northern Bibles, the earlier of the two groups, is that they were commissioned by reforming abbots and bishops, such as Richard of Saint-Vannes (†1046), Poppo of Stavelot (†1048) and Gerard of Cambrai (†1061), who had been trained in Reims immediately after the archdiocese underwent a Gorze-style reform led by Archbishop Adalbero of Reims (969–989).<sup>15</sup> Adalbero is better known for his role in transferring the French crown from the Carolingians to the Capetians, and for inviting the scholar Gerbert of Aurillac to lead his cathedral school, than he is for undertaking religious reform. Between 972 and 980 Gerbert reoriented the curriculum around the liberal arts, and sought out manuscripts with didactic images and graphs for the use of his students.<sup>16</sup> He also fostered instruction in singing, and constructed a hydraulic organ.<sup>17</sup> Intellectual and liturgical reform are not mutually exclusive, and Archbishop Adalbero was also noted in his own day for having reformed canonical life at his cathedral, insisting that the canons live communally and building a

<sup>14</sup> Diane J. Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Richard of Saint-Vannes, Gerard of Cambrai and the Saint-Vaast Bible*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 128 (Leiden, 2006), pp. 66–104; Larry M. Ayers, “The Italian Giant Bibles: Aspects of their Touronian Ancestry and Early History” in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 2 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 125–54; and Lila Yawn, “The Italian Giant Bibles” in *The Practice of the Bible*, pp. 126–56.

<sup>15</sup> Michel Bur, “Saint-Thierry et le renouveau monastique dans le diocèse de Reims au X<sup>e</sup> siècle” in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes du colloque internationale d'histoire monastique Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 octobre 1976*, ed. Michel Bur (Saint-Thierry, 1979), pp. 39–49 at pp. 46–47.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 143–47.

<sup>17</sup> Richer of Reims, *Historia*, 3.49, ed. and trans. Justin Lake, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2011) 2:72–75 [In the notes I refer both to the numeration used by Richer (four books) and the published edition (four books divided between two volumes). The first number refers to the number from the four books in Richer's text; the second to the pages in one of the two volumes in the edition]; and *The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, trans. Harriet Pratt Lattin (New York, 1961), Letter 77 (pp. 115–16), Letter 102 (pp. 136–38), Letter 105 (pp. 140–41), and Letter 171 (pp. 200–01). According to William of Malmesbury, Gerbert constructed a clock and a hydraulic organ, which were preserved in the cathedral of Reims and may both have been intended to serve the liturgy. William also heaps accusations of sorcery on Gerbert, however, rendering all of his testimony suspect; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum* 2:167–169, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, completed R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998–1999), 1:278–298.

cloister, dormitory and refectory to house them.<sup>18</sup> He demanded that the canons celebrate the divine office, and read daily from the Rule of Saint Augustine.<sup>19</sup>

Richer of Reims reports that Adalbero then turned his attention to the local monasteries of Saint-Remi and Saint-Thierry and called a synod with the purpose of reforming the monks of his province.<sup>20</sup> Adalbero deplored the fact that they disagreed in their *regularis ordinis consuetudine*, and complained that they had sunk so low as to keep wives, father children, and come and go from the monastery without leave. They also wore bonnets made of exotic skins, and breeches whose “leggings stretch the length of six feet and yet do not protect with a swatch of sheer cloth the shameful parts from onlookers”.<sup>21</sup> Aside from reforming the dress and movements of the monks, Adalbero must have also mandated liturgical changes; the monks of Saint-Remi imposed their own Collectar (Reims, BM, MS 304) and Epistolary (Reims, BM, MS 250) on the nearby monastery of Saint-Thierry, and the Saint-Thierry scriptorium generated a new sacramentary (Reims, BM, MS 214), all within just a few years of Adalbero’s reform.<sup>22</sup> The Epistolary was embellished with punctuation and neumes which tailor it for choral chant.<sup>23</sup> Within the next several generations large format Bibles were provided to the newly installed monks at Saint-Thierry (Reims, BM, MSS 22–23), to the monks at Saint-Remi (Reims, BM, MSS 16–19), and to the reorganized cathedral canons (Reims, BM, MSS 20–21, which we will examine below).

Richer, unfortunately, recorded little about the spiritual or educational content of Adalbero’s reform, however the Bibles modified and produced

<sup>18</sup> Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 60 (Cambridge, Eng., 2004), pp. 35–36. Richer, *Historia*, 3.24, ed. Lake, 2:30–33.

<sup>19</sup> Glenn, *Politics and History*, pp. 40–45, esp. note 79 on the question of whether they celebrated matins; Richer, *Historia*, 3.24, ed. Lake, 2:30–33.

<sup>20</sup> Bur, “Saint-Thierry et le renouveau”, pp. 39–42, and Richer, *Historia*, 3.32–42. ed. Lake, 2:44–61.

<sup>21</sup> Glenn, *Politics and History*, p. 75; Richer, *Historia*, 3.41, ed. Lake, 2:58–59: “Horum etenim tibiales quater sesquipede patent atque ex staminis subtilitate etiam pudenda intuentibus non protegunt”.

<sup>22</sup> Jérôme Deshusses, “Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry: les étapes d’une transformation de la liturgie” in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye*, pp. 133–45 at pp. 140–43, and Marie-Pierre Laffitte, “Esquisse d’une bibliothèque médiévale: le fonds de manuscrits de l’abbaye de Saint-Thierry” in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye*, pp. 73–100 at pp. 75–76.

<sup>23</sup> Michel Dricot, “Le chant des moines de Saint-Thierry d’après les manuscrits de l’armarium de Saint-Thierry des IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles” in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye*, pp. 231–43, at p. 235.

in its wake evidence their function very clearly. Some time between the early eleventh and the mid-twelfth century, to judge by the added script and its original punctuation, the cathedral canons updated their battered Carolingian “Hincmar” Bible, Reims, BM, MSS 1–2, a two-volume copy given to them, as repeated inscriptions by the original scribes scattered through the margins allege, by the ninth-century liturgist and theologian Hincmar of Reims when he was their archbishop between 845 and 882.<sup>24</sup> This mammoth set was carefully written in Caroline minuscule and decorated with aniconic initials of brown, pen-drawn interlace with yellow, blue, red and teal infill. Canon tables illusionistically painted in a style similar to that used for other Carolingian manuscripts from Reims introduce the Gospels.<sup>25</sup> The canons added both a new copy of the prologue, “Desiderii mei”, to Genesis, thus augmenting the original copy found on its faded first folio, and new folios with the prologue “Frater Ambrosius”.<sup>26</sup> Both prologues were prefaced with a thick, white interlace initial outlined in pen, the second with green, orange and tan painting filling the interstices. In addition a variety of scribes inserted into the text modernized punctuation such as the *punctus versus* and *punctus elevatus*, and other reading aids, and traced over faded letters or words in darker ink. The original scribes of this Bible had included, between the preface and the beginning of the first book of Kings, an unusual version of an eighth-century Roman *ordo librorum*, that is, instructions for the annual cycle of Scripture reading that took place during the night office.<sup>27</sup> Such instructions were popular in the Carolingian Empire following the religious reforms of the eighth-century bishop Chrodegang of Metz, and the

<sup>24</sup> The inscription, in aerated rustics, is found on MS 1, fols. 160v-161r, 178v-179r, 186v-187r, 194v-195r, 202v-203r, 212v-213r, 218v-219r, MS 2, fols. 17v-18r, 36v-37r, with a now incomplete version in MS 1, fols. 152v-153r, and a later imitation in MS 2, fols. 132v-133r. Bonifatius Fischer, “Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen” in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels, vol. II, *Das Geistige Leben*, ed. Bernard Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1966), pp. 156–216 at p. 191, and Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893), p. 281, both believe this to be legitimate. Rosamond McKitterick has stressed the didactic function of such Carolingian Bibles in “Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours Anomaly” in *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 63–77 at pp. 75–76, and thus the eleventh- or twelfth-century Reims canons may simply have been reviving an already established practice and its tools.

<sup>25</sup> Compare to Épernay, BM, MS 1, fol. 13r, from the Ebbo Gospels, Florentine Mutherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), pp. 56–57.

<sup>26</sup> Stegmüller 285 and 284; Reims, BM, MS 1, fols. iv, 4r-7v.

<sup>27</sup> Reims, BM, MS 1, fol. 104v. Henri Llorquet, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* 38 (Paris, 1904), *Reims*, pp. 1–4. For an edition of this Ordo, see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain, 1948) 2:469–88.

ninth-century liturgist Amalarius of Metz, each of whom prescribed night office Scripture reading for monks and canons, respectively, and the canons of Reims Cathedral most likely had, at least originally, followed Chrodegang's rule.<sup>28</sup> Within the Hincmar Bible its Carolingian scribes had also copied the Gospels and Psalter in a smaller script, although on folios still ruled with the same number of lines found in the other biblical books, an indication that the Bible was originally destined for reading during the office of matins, as these two books were not included in the prescribed night office reading cycle.<sup>29</sup> No punctuation was ever added to the Psalter, although it does appear in the Gospels, along with a melismatic musical setting on a four-line staff above the incipit to the preface to the Gospel of John (Reims, BM, MS 2, fol. 142r).

Eventually the Cathedral canons produced a new two-volume Bible, Reims, BM, MSS 20–21. This Bible cannot be dated with any exactitude, but judging from its heavy and elongated late Caroline minuscule it could not have been copied before the late eleventh century.<sup>30</sup> The two volumes were decorated by at least two different artists, the first primarily with thick tendril initials outlined in red or brown pen similar to those found in the additions to Reims, BM, MS 1, the second with initials constructed of thinner tendrils, this time often entangling figures or framing narrative scenes, and filled with color blocks of blue, yellow, red or green.<sup>31</sup> The canons probably intended to use this new set of volumes, just as the earlier Hincmar Bible, for lection reading at matins, because they copied the Carolingian Bible's unusual version of the *ordo librorum* into their new Bible immediately following the Pauline Epistles.<sup>32</sup> They also faithfully copied the series of rubrics scattered through the Song of Songs, which transformed the text into a conversation between Christ, Ecclesia,

<sup>28</sup> *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, 3 vols. Studi e testi 138–140 (Città del Vaticano, 1948–50), 1:138–40, 2:442–80, and 3:13–15 and Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Critical Texts with Translations and Commentary* (Aldershot, UK, 2005), pp. 242–44, on the night office, and Glenn, *Politics and History*, pp. 36–42.

<sup>29</sup> On this practice in Tournonian Bibles, see David Ganz, "Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours" in *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 53–62 at 59. Confusingly, Chronicles are also written in the same miniature script.

<sup>30</sup> Lorient, in *Catalogue général* 38: *Reims*, p. 29, suggests, without offering a justification, a date of the beginning of the twelfth century. On this Bible, see also Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, pp. 115 and 280.

<sup>31</sup> The initial on Reims, BM, MS 20, fol. 147r resembles the style found more commonly in Reims, BM, MS 21, and Reims, BM, MS 21, fol. 271v mimics the style that dominates Reims, BM, MS 20, suggesting that the two volumes were decorated concurrently.

<sup>32</sup> Reims, BM, MS 20, fol. 194v.



Synagoga and various other characters when it was read aloud, from the Hincmar Bible into their new Bible.<sup>33</sup> Despite their obvious attachment to their Carolingian exemplar, the canons did not, however, copy the order of biblical books found in the Hincmar Bible but instead rearranged the books in their new manuscripts according to the monastic reading cycle of the *ordo librorum*. Thus, MS 20 begins with the book of Ezekiel, followed by Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, the Pauline Epistles, Chronicles, and finally Ezra. MS 21 begins with the book of Acts, followed by the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, 1–4 Kings, the Wisdom Books, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, and finally Maccabees. A third volume, now lost, must have contained the Heptateuch and Jeremiah, as well as potentially the Gospels and Psalter.<sup>34</sup> In common with almost all eleventh- and twelfth-century Bibles, the volumes are very large, measuring over forty-seven centimeters high and thirty-seven wide, when closed. They were written with carefully separated words and liturgical *positurae*, the elaborate punctuation of *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, *punctus interrogativus* and *punctus versus* intended to aid the reader in intoning the text.<sup>35</sup> The Bible includes evidence that it was heavily used, frequently corrected and in some places tonic accents have been added.<sup>36</sup> The Bible is also outfitted with lection marks, sometimes multiple sets, suggesting that it was marked for reading by a cantor. The lection marks and tonic accents are difficult to date, but the punctuation appears to be original. The other lectern Bibles copied in the orbit of the cathedral, the Bible of Saint-Thierry (Reims, BM, MSS 22–23) and the Bible of Saint-Remi (Reims, BM, MSS 16–19) were also assembled in an order tailored to choir and refectory reading, though

<sup>33</sup> The series found in both of these Bibles is De Bruyne series B, shared with the Carolingian Bibles of San Paolo fuori le mura, the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (BnF, MS lat. 2), and many of the Bibles later copied in Flemish monasteries; Donatien De Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1914) pp. 558–61, and Diane J. Reilly “Picturing the Monastic Drama: Romanesque Bible Illustrations of the Song of Songs”, *Word & Image* 17 (2001) 389–400.

<sup>34</sup> The *ordo librorum* inserted after the Pauline Epistles dictated the following reading order: Heptateuch, Jeremiah, Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, 1–4 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, the Wisdom Books, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, 1–2 Maccabees, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets and finally Isaiah. Thus only the books of Chronicles and Ezra in the later Reims Bible do not correspond in placement to the demands of the annual *lectio continua*.

<sup>35</sup> Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 76–78.

<sup>36</sup> On tonic accents and their usefulness to the lector, see Leonard E. Boyle, “Tonic Accent, Codicology, and Literacy” in *The Centre and its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*, ed. Robert A. Taylor et al., *Studies in Medieval Culture* 33 (Kalamazoo, 1993), pp. 1–10, and idem, *Vox Paginae: An Oral Dimension of Text* (Rome, 1999), pp. 23–35.

this order is slightly different from that found in the cathedral's Bible, indicating that they are not copies of Reims, BM, MSS 20–21 and that the cathedral did not mandate a set order at local monastic houses.<sup>37</sup>

It seems unlikely, given that more than a century elapsed between Adalbero's reform and the appearance of this Bible that his reform was still the direct impetus behind the redaction of the cathedral's new lectern Bible, as it clearly was with the appearance of liturgical manuscripts at the abbey of Saint-Thierry. In fact, I believe it is possible that the Carthusian reform movement may have spurred the canons to action, even if that reform did not occur at the cathedral itself. Almost a hundred years after Adalbero of Reims reformed his cathedral canons and the surrounding Benedictine houses, Bruno, chancellor of the cathedral of Reims, and his companions, who included two of the cathedral canons, left Reims in search of greater spiritual challenges and eventually settled in the alpine wilderness in the diocese of Grenoble. The early Carthusians established that from the traditional communal divine office they would observe together only matins and vespers, and share communal meals only on Sundays and feast-days. These practices nonetheless preserved the best opportunities for communal reading of the Bible, facilitated by the products of their scriptorium.<sup>38</sup> As at Reims, the monks produced at least two Giant, or lectern, Bibles roughly a hundred years apart. The first, the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus (Grenoble, BM, MSS 16–18), was produced in three volumes probably in the late eleventh century, and certainly before 1132 (when an avalanche destroyed the first monastery).<sup>39</sup> Lavishly

<sup>37</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the similarities and differences between the Bibles in this family, see Reilly, "French Romanesque Giant Bibles", pp. 303–05, and on the Bible of Saint-Thierry, Henri de Sainte-Marie, "Les quatre manuscrits latins d'Ancien Testament de la bibliothèque de Saint-Thierry" in *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye*, pp. 113–31 at 126–27. Although surviving evidence is fragmentary, several Carolingian Bibles from Germany, Northern France and Northern Italy were arranged in night office reading order, including KBR, MS II 1052 (late eighth century); Douai, BM, MS 14 (mid-ninth century); Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, MS i-2/9 (later ninth century); Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, MSS E.26 inf. and E.53 inf. (dates disputed). Thus examples of Bibles reordered in this pragmatic fashion could have been available to both the Reims cathedral canons and the Carthusian monks. On these earlier Bibles and their connection to Carolingian liturgical reform, see Reilly, *The Art of Reform*, pp. 49–51.

<sup>38</sup> Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, "La tradition de la lecture et la première bibliothèque cartusienne" in *Saint Bruno et sa postérité spirituelle: Actes du colloque international des 8 et 9 octobre 2001 à l'Institut catholique de Paris* (Salzburg, 2003), pp. 219–29.

<sup>39</sup> Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence: Enquête codicologique sur les manuscrits du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle provenant de la Grande Chartreuse* (Sainte-Étienne, 2004), pp. 111–12, 312–15; P. Fournier, E. Maignien and A. Prudhomme, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* 7 (Paris, 1889), Grenoble, pp. 9–12, and Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1996), 2:58–60.

ornamented with very large and inventive decorative initials constructed of and inhabited by an army of white beasts and beast heads, it was copied in carefully-spaced late Caroline minuscule with few abbreviations. Like the Hincmar Bible, which Bruno would have used for night office lections in the cathedral choir from his appointment as chancellor in 1056 to his departure for Grenoble in 1084,<sup>40</sup> the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus contains an *ordo librorum*, in this case entitled “Ratio de libris legendis per circulum anni”. Like the list in Hincmar’s Bible, this was copied by one of the original scribes.<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, soon after the Bible was first copied, it was apparently dismembered and reassembled to accord, at least in part, with the yearly cycle of choir and refectory reading.<sup>42</sup> Lection markings divide the text into sets of three or eight readings, as is typical for a monastic house, and the text has been embellished with the (by now customary) punctuation and tonic accents, including some by the original scribes. Among these are the *punctus flexus* marks that had been developed by early Cistercian scribes to assist readers in deciphering the sense of unfamiliar texts.<sup>43</sup>

Bruno remained in contact with the leadership at Reims after his departure for Isère, and corresponded with and sent messengers to Raoul le Verd, provost of the chapter at Reims Cathedral, pleading with him to turn more towards Bruno’s new style of life, as he had apparently once planned.<sup>44</sup> Could a messenger or a letter to Reims have described the idiosyncratic but practical arrangement of the Carthusians’ new lectern Bible? If so, this pattern may have been copied at Reims when the cathedral chapter produced its own new Bible, though the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus certainly could not itself have been used as the exemplar. Alternatively, if the new Reims Cathedral Bible was begun before Bruno’s departure, did Bruno suggest that his followers copy its format when they arrived in Isère? Without more accurate dating for either the Reims Cathedral or Grande Chartreuse Bibles, it is impossible to posit a more

<sup>40</sup> André Ravier, *Saint Bruno: Le premier des ermites de Chartreuse* (Paris, 1967), p. 22.

<sup>41</sup> Grenoble, BM, MS 16, fol. 255v, Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, p. 312.

<sup>42</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, pp. 113–15.

<sup>43</sup> Nigel Palmer, “*Simul Cantemus, simul pausemus*: Zur mittelalterlichen Zisterzienserpunktion” in *Lesevorgänge. Prozesse des Kerkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. Martina Bakes and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Zürich, 2009), pp. 483–570; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, pp. 115 on the lection marks, and 191, where she notes the use of the *punctus flexus* in the later Chartreuse Bible, but not in the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus.

<sup>44</sup> *Lettres des premier chartreux I: S. Bruno, Guigues, S. Anthelme*, Sources chrétiennes 88 (Paris, 1962), pp. 66–81.

specific relationship between the two. Even more perplexing is the similarity in decorative style between the second volume of the Reims Cathedral Bible (Reims, BM, MS 21, fol. 223r, fig. 1.1), and the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus (Grenoble, BM, MS 18, fol. 224r). Both Bibles are embellished with interlace initials constructed of white tendrils

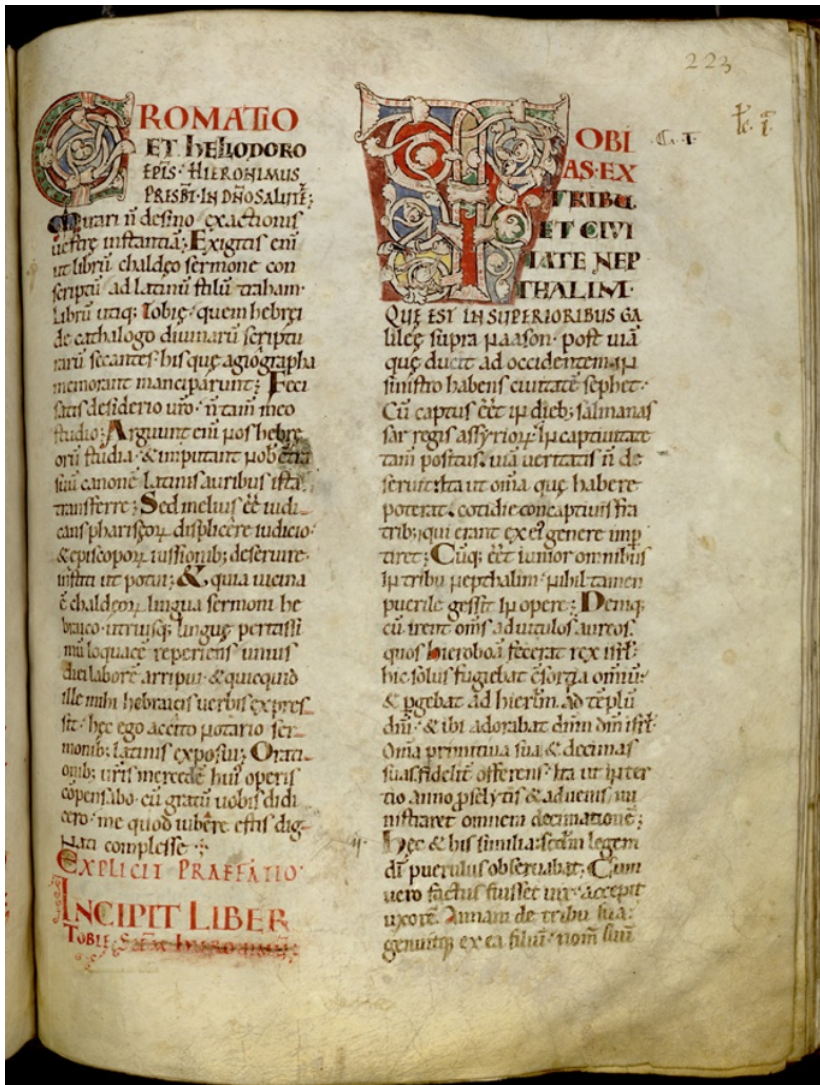


Figure 1.1 Reims Cathedral Bible, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale MS 21, fol. 223r.

highlighted with pen-drawn striations and dots, ending in biting beast heads or made of entire beasts. A mosaic-like infill of sections of yellow, blue, red, green and reddish ochre bounded by the white tendrils fills the backgrounds of the initials, which are set on painted bases that roughly hug the overall shape of each initial. Certainly the Reims and Chartreuse initials are not similar enough to have been painted by the same artist, and given the distance between Reims and Grenoble, these two workshops could not have been part of a regional school. Initials of similar style can be found in other contemporary manuscripts from Reims (for instance Reims, BM, MS 295, a Breviary made concurrently with the Bible, discussed below, and the slightly later Bible of Saint-Thierry, Reims, BM MSS 22–23).<sup>45</sup> At the Grande Chartreuse, where multiple artists working in this style contributed to the Bible, no other surviving manuscripts contain such initials. Could the Carthusian artists have been attempting to imitate a style they remembered, or one that had been described to them, from Reims? Although apparently unique at the Grande Chartreuse, the initial style of the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus has typically been allied with products of southern and central French scriptoria in Burgundy, and near Narbonne, Auxerre, and Limoges.<sup>46</sup> Two of the founding Carthusians, Étienne de Bourg and Étienne de Die, were formerly canons from the Order of Saint-Ruf in Avignon, providing a possible link with Southern French artistic traditions.<sup>47</sup> Thus another scenario is that a messenger from the Grande Chartreuse took, along with a description of the arrangement of their Bible, an example of its (admittedly superior) version of this decoration to Reims, where it was briefly imitated in the neighborhood scriptoria and quickly combined with other local influences.

Sometime around 1170 – perhaps inspired by the reorganization of liturgical life that led Abbot Basel to redact the *Consuetudines Basilii* – the monks at the Grande Chartreuse created a second, but much more lavishly illuminated, Giant Bible (Grenoble, BM, MSS 12–15).<sup>48</sup> It too was ordered according to the reading cycle mandated by the Chartreuse

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<sup>45</sup> Cahn (*Romanesque Manuscripts* 2:86–87) compares the style of the historiated initials in the Saint-Thierry Bible to late-eleventh-century Mosan school works such as the Stavelot and Lobbes Bibles (BL, MS Additional 28106–7 and Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, MS 1), from which it may borrow its inserted medallions and method of incorporating figures, but not its mosaic-like backgrounds or color palate.

<sup>46</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, pp. 119–21.

<sup>47</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, “D’une bible à l’autre...la réalisation des deux premières bibles de la Grande Chartreuse au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 13 (2002) 161–88 at 187, and *Catalogue général 7: Grenoble*, pp. 5–9.

customary, and in this case was complemented by a lectern-size refectory lectionary made around the same time.<sup>49</sup> Oddly, its Psalter and Gospels were written in miniaturized script, as in the Hincmar Bible, although the scribes of the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus had not followed this practice, and Bruno and his followers from Reims had long since died.<sup>50</sup> The Bibles we have examined so far are remarkable for the diversity of their organization and appearance. Romanesque Bibles were almost always made in the monastic scriptoria where they were intended to be used and reflect the preferences of their makers rather than the more uniform workshop practices that would characterize thirteenth-century Bibles. Nonetheless, each has in some way been customized to the requirements of the reading that took place in the choir and refectory of a recently reformed house.

#### ROMANESQUE BIBLE ILLUSTRATION AND PEDAGOGY

More general shared trajectories can also be observed in the Bibles produced at the cathedral of Reims and at the Grande Chartreuse. For instance, in both the earlier Hincmar Bible from Reims and the Bible of Notre Dame de Casalibus the text was embellished with purely aniconic decorative motifs, including colorful interlace, albeit in very different styles.<sup>51</sup> In both scriptoria, the second-generation Bibles, in contrast, were copiously illustrated with decorated and historiated initials.

The function of historiated and decorated initials in a Bible used for reading at matins is not easy to understand. In later medieval Bibles, especially the portable manuscripts produced for individual reading that can easily be held in one hand, the reception of decorated initials is more obvious. Whether generic or carefully customized, they were directed at a

<sup>49</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, pp. 189–90, 212–14; idem, “D’une bible”, pp. 185–186; and Raymond Étaix, “Le lectionnaire cartusien pour le réfectoire”, *Revue des études Augustiniennes* 23 (1977) 272–303.

<sup>50</sup> The Carthusian monks need not necessarily have remembered this from Reims, however. David Ganz explains that this practice was common among Tours Bibles from what he identifies as “the second stage in the development of Tours Bibles...” including surviving examples Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Car. C. 1; BL, MS Harley 2805; BL, Add. 10546; BSB, Clm 12741; Trier, Bistumsarchiv, MS 95 1/2; and BnF, MS lat. 47; Ganz, “Mass Production”, p. 59. Reims, BM, MSS 1–2, though likely copied at Reims instead of Tours, also followed this practice. Another such fragment survives in Bloomington, Lilly Library, MS Poole 30, from a Tours Bible once owned by Saint Maximin in Trier; Christopher de Hamel, *Gilding the Lilly: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library* (Bloomington, Indiana, 2010), pp. 20–21.

<sup>51</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, “D’une bible”, 163–66.



single reader, who usually read silently to himself and could pause to contemplate and meditate upon the images in conjunction with the text.

Did the decoration in these earlier Bibles have a similar function? As in the later Bibles, these images could be relatively literal depictions of the words of the text, or highly complex exegetical interpretations. At Reims Cathedral, the historiated initial introducing the Song of Songs (Reims, BM, MS 21, fol. 161r, fig. 1.2), which according to the *ordo* inscribed

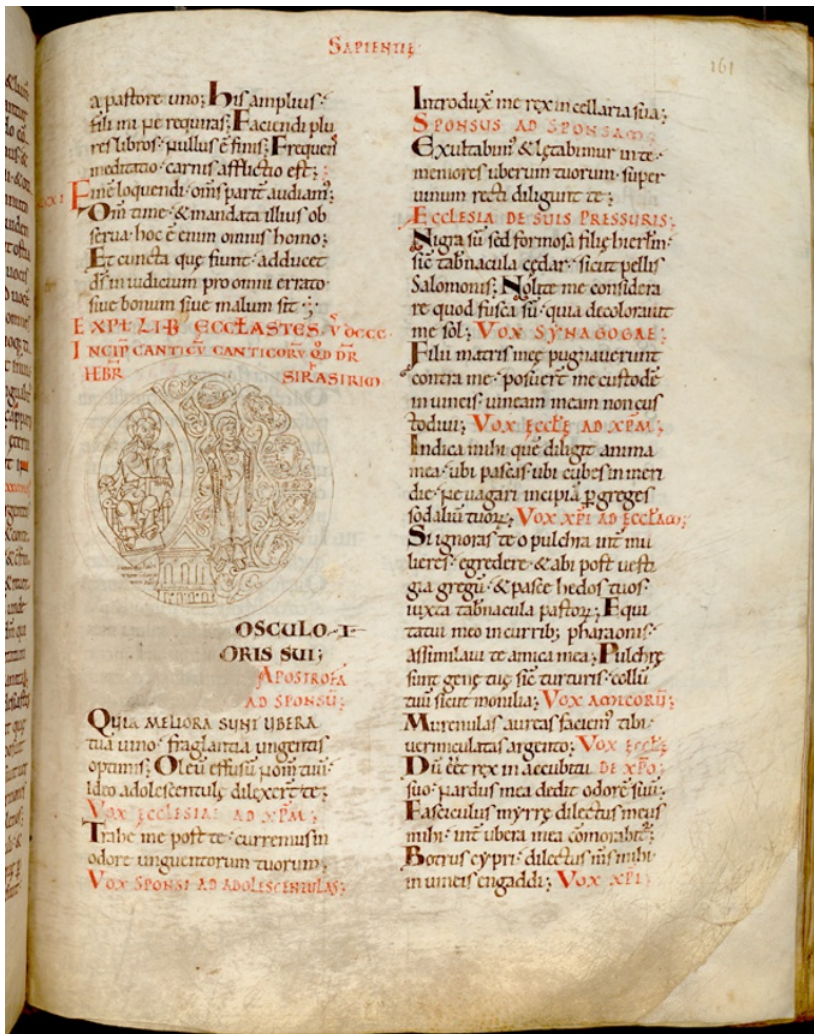


Figure 1.2. Reims Cathedral Bible, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale MS 21, fol. 161r.

on fol. 194v of the companion volume was read in August, is very similar to that found in a large-format office Breviary copied in the same scriptorium (Reims, BM, MS 295, fol. 136r, fig. 1.3).<sup>52</sup> Produced at roughly the same time

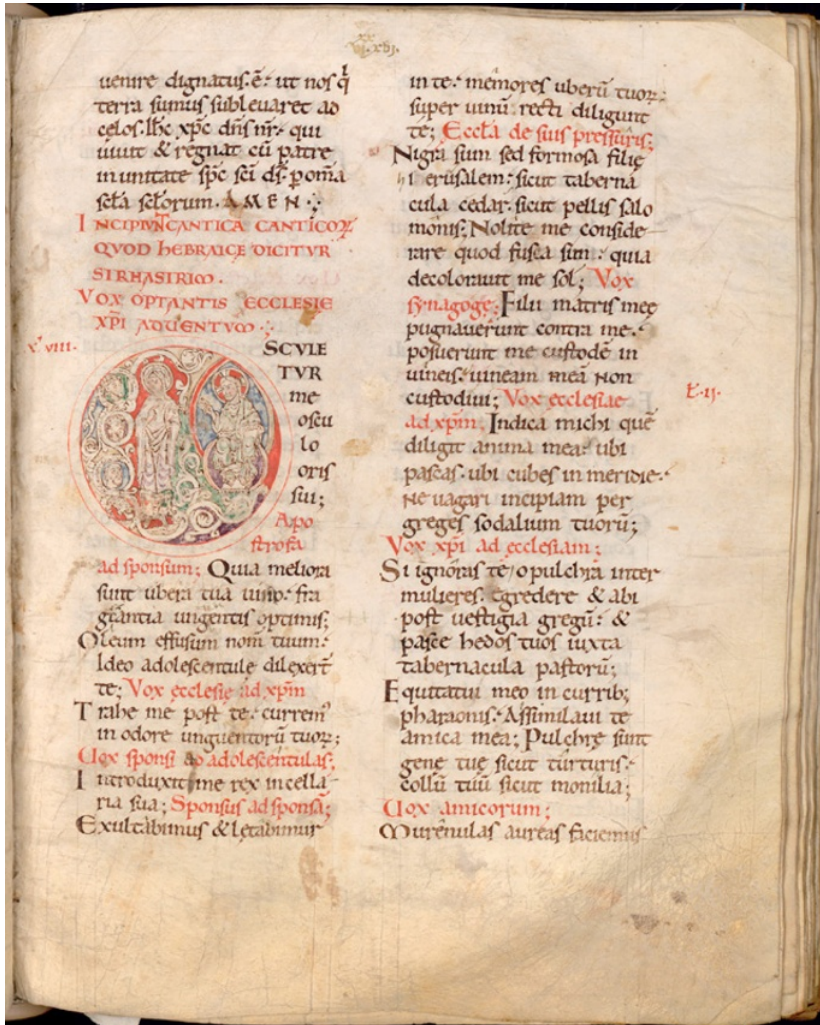


Figure 1.3. Reims Cathedral Breviary, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale MS 295, fol. 136r.

<sup>52</sup> *Catalogue général* 38: *Reims*, pp. 291–99. The dimensions of the manuscript, which has been trimmed, are 418x315 mm. Though termed a Lectionary in the catalogue, the manuscript includes lections, indications for invitatories, Psalms, antiphons, responsories, versicles and hymns, and thus is properly termed a proto-Breviary.



as the Bible, this is the last volume from what was originally a three-volume suite of manuscripts intended to provide readings for the entire church year, of which only two, Reims, BM, MSS 294 and 295, survive. The volumes are nearly as large as the Bible, and like it are carefully written in two columns, with running titles, hierarchies of script, and a full complement of white-tendrill interlace initials with interstices filled with the same mosaic sections of yellow, blue, green and red as the illustrations in the Bible's second volume, although the lectionary artists have also used purple.<sup>53</sup> The interlace initials prefacing readings in Reims, BM, MSS 294–295, like the initials in the Bible, Reims, BM, MS 21, are most frequently purely decorative, but sometimes incorporate struggling or laboring male figures. Both manuscripts (Reims 295 and Reims 21) also occasionally include initials with standing authors or fully-fledged narrative images, as for example, the illustrations for the Song of Songs. In both of these, the tiny *tituli* surrounding and identifying the figures, drawn from Isaiah, Tobit, Matthew, the Psalms and other biblical books, echo the Gregorian antiphons, responsories or patristic sermons for the night office.<sup>54</sup> By

<sup>53</sup> *Catalogue général* 38: Reims, pp. 283–299. Historiated initials or standing authors are found in Reims, BM, MS 294 at fols. 89v, 109v, 158r, 185v, 188r, 190r, 227v, 238v, 240v, 244v and 252v, and in Reims 295 at fol. 1r, 30v, 32r, 109v, 136r and 215r. Aside from the Song of Songs image, only Reims 294, fols. 89v, 238v and 252v include *tituli*, all of which are far less complex.

<sup>54</sup> Marie-Louise Thérél, "L'origine du thème de la Synagogue Répudiée", *Scriptorium* 25 (1971) 285–90 at pp. 285–86. While one *titulus* in MS 295 is illegible, the remaining three are as follows: [1] from Ps 86.7, "Sicut laetantium omnium habitatio est in te" ("The dwelling in thee is, as it were, of all rejoicing"), which also appears in Gregory the Great's *Liber Responsalis* in nocturns associated with the Purification and Assumption of Mary (PL 78:745c and 799a); [2] "Multi filii desertae" ("Many are the children of the desolate") (Is 54.1); and [3] "Noli timere, filia Sion" ("Do not fear, daughter of Zion") (Thérél mistakenly identifies this as Zec 9:9. It is Jn 12.15). The first *titulus* in MS 21 was illegible to me, but others are similar in type to those in Reims, BM, MS 295: [1] "Laetare sterili quae non paris" ("Rejoice, though barren, that bearest not") (Gal 4.27, itself referencing Is 54.1, and widely quoted); [2] "Luce splendida fulgebis et omnes fines terrae adorabunt te" ("Thou shalt shine with a glorious slight and all the ends of the earth shall worship thee") (Tb 13.13), also found in Gregory the Great's *Liber Responsalis* or *antiphonarius* (PL 78:828C, *antiphonae in susceptione regum*); again [3] "Sicut latetium omnium habitatio est in te"; also [4] "[dicite filiae Sion] Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus" ("Tell Ye the daughter of Sion: Behold thy king cometh to thee, meek...") (Mt 21.5), quoted in Leo the Great's Sermon on the Annunciation (PL 54:510B) and Bede's Homily (23) on Palm Sunday (PL 94:122D). Another Gospel's version is quoted in Gregory the Great's *Liber antiphonarius*, for a feast of twelve lessons in Advent (PL 78:645A); [5] "Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine" ("Blessed are they that dwell in thy house O Lord") (Ps 83.5), again used in both Gregory the Great's *Liber Responsalis sive Antiphonarius* for the third nocturn in the dedication of a church (PL 78:830C), and his *Liber Antiphonarius* for the third Sunday for Quadagesima (PL 78:665C), and Bede's Homilies for Easter and Ascension (PL 94:143C and 185A), and finally [6] "Introdixit me rex in cellaria sua" ("The King brought me into his storerooms") (Sg 1.3),

themselves, the figures in each manuscript's Song of Songs initial do not illustrate the words of the text they accompany. Instead, the compositions are complex interpretations of the text that use the tituli's references to sermons and liturgical texts to cast the *Sponsus* and *Sponsa* of the Song of Songs as Christ and his earthly Church, also personified by the Virgin Mary, an interpretation enhanced in the Reims Cathedral Bible by the rubrics the scribes copied into the text from the Hincmar Bible. The Reims Cathedral Breviary is self-evidently a liturgical book, meant to be read during the divine office; it was well used and, like the Bible, augmented with lection marks, hyphens, tonic accents, punctuation and neumes as well as more obviously didactic instructions including *nota* marks and about a dozen contemporary marginal notes. These two manuscripts are thus evidence that the scriptorium's illuminators found this Song of Songs iconography compelling enough to include it (with different sets of inscriptions) in two manuscripts for public reading.

Matins was the night office, customarily observed between two and six in the morning, although the length and starting time of the office varied according to the time of year. Scholars have therefore argued that during matins, when the biblical lections were read, it would have been too dark in the choir for anyone other than the lector to appreciate such complex images. Moreover, they suggest that the reader would have been focused only on his duty to read the text.<sup>55</sup> However, descriptions of choir offices in the customaries of both regular canons and monks suggest that the choir was not pitch-black during the night office. For instance, the recently edited twelfth-century *Constitutiones quae vocantur ordinis praemonstratensis* (in reality a customary drafted for an unidentified order of Augustinian canons) describe that when a canon was found sleeping during matins, another canon was to set a lamp in front of his face.<sup>56</sup> Once awakened, the offending canon was to pace the choir with the same lantern, searching for other sleeping canons. The customary of the Benedictine monastery of Fruttuaria assigns this task to a conversus, and devotes considerable space to the placement, lighting and relighting of multiple lamps

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quoted in Maximin of Tours' *Sermons on the Saints*, in a suggested sermon for feasts of confessors (PL 57:717C).

<sup>55</sup> Judith Raeber, *Buchmalerei in Freiburg im Breisgau: Ein Zisterzienserbrevier aus dem frühen 14. Jahrhundert. Zur Geschichte des Breviers und seiner Illumination* (Weisbaden, 2003), pp. 175–76.

<sup>56</sup> Marvin Colker, *Constitutiones quae vocantur Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, CCCM 216 (Turnhout, 2008), verses 29–30, p. 16, and pp. xlv–liv for a discussion of its origin.

or candelabra in the choir during the night office.<sup>57</sup> Thus more than a single candle may have been burning in the choir at night.

But even with a lamp, how could the monks or canons who were not assigned to read the lections, and therefore would not have had an opportunity to approach the lectern, have understood this kind of complex image? The answer is in the approach taken to the lections in the context of the night office and refectory. Based on Customaries that describe matins, and Breviaries compiled to provide readings, the office is often pictured as highly formalized and regimented, with few opportunities to depart from the script. This interpretation fails to allow for the fact that the reading of lections was also considered an opportunity for correction and education. The twelfth-century cleric Honorius Augustodunensis in *De Gemma animae* identified two orders in the church: the *sapientes*, and the *insipientes*. While the readings during Mass are meant to instruct the wise, he said “the lections at night during matins serve to educate the inexperienced and are therefore explained”.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, lectern Bibles were read in the refectory as well as in the choir. The early Cistercian *Ecclesiastica officia* instructed the weekly refectory reader,

Dum legit, aurem accomodet priori, ut si quando eum emendaverit, intelligere possit. Si intelligit quid emendet, humiliter dicat. Si non intelligit, versum reincipiat et hoc tociens faciat, quociens priorem propter hoc exgrunire cognoverit.<sup>59</sup>

Interestingly, the cantor and subcantor were instructed not to correct those who read the readings they had selected and prepared for the night office, as this was the job of the subprior, who was given leave to correct even the prior.<sup>60</sup> Conversely, the author of the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, who professed at the Grande Chartreuse, reported of the lay brothers,

<sup>57</sup> *Consuetudines Fructuarienses-Sanblasianae*, ed. Luchsius Spätling and Peter Dinter, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 12 (Siegburg, 1989), pp. 55, 68, 153–55, 159–60, 208.

<sup>58</sup> PL 172:669A: “In Ecclesia sunt duo ordines, sapientes scilicet, et insipientes. Per Lectiones, quae ad Missam in die leguntur, sapientes instruuntur. Quae in nocte ad matutinas leguntur, insipientes imbuuntur, unde et exponuntur. Ideo hodie Lectiones tono nocturnali leguntur, quia convenit insipientibus, videlicet catechumenis adhuc in ignorantia positus”. Eva M. Sanford, “Honorius, Presbyter and Scholasticus”, *Speculum* 23 (1948) 397–425 at pp. 414–15.

<sup>59</sup> “While he reads, let him bend his ear to the prior, so that when he corrects him, he will be able to understand. If he understands what is corrected, he should humbly say so. If he does not understand, let him start the verse again and do this as many times as the prior murmurs [or grunts] on account of [this error] so that he will have learned it”. Bruno Griesser, “Die ‘Ecclesiastica officia cisterciensis ordinis’ des cod. 1711 von Trient”, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 12 (1956) 153–288 at p. 267.

<sup>60</sup> Griesser, “Die ‘Ecclesiastica officia’”, p. 272.

Sic enim utriusque instrumenti hystorias et moralia precepta huius ple-rosque ordinis conversos didicisse novimus, ut vix falleretur qui statutas de more hystoriarum lectiones aut sacros evangeliorum expositores in ecclesia recitabat quin citius hoc illi deprehenderent et subtussiendo idipsum ut audiebant indicarent.<sup>61</sup>

The illustrated Reims proto-Breviary was not unique. Contemporary Breviaries, like the twelfth-century Admont Breviary (Admont, Stiftbibliothek, MS 18),<sup>62</sup> contained similar narrative and exegetical images, again with *tituli* drawn from the office. The illuminations, with their diminutive *tituli*, may have been intended to help the reader provide explanations of the text while it was read at matins or in the refectory; alternatively, these passages and their illustrations could have been used by a master explaining the readings. At the least, manuscripts such as these may have been left upon the lectern for monks or canons to study between offices. Other illuminated manuscripts produced specifically for educational purposes in this period, including the *Speculum virginum* manuscripts and Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus deliciarum*, tell us that those following regular life were ready to receive instruction by visual means.<sup>63</sup> The evidence of other Bibles indicates that they were used to instruct readers or listeners in Latin, and thus that biblical manuscripts were perceived as multi-purpose instructional texts. The early-twelfth-century Stephen Harding Bible from Cîteaux (Dijon, BM, MSS 12–15) contains characteristic dense punctuation and tonic accents, and hyphens connecting broken words at both ends of a line. Simple abbreviations for standard words like *omnibus*, *modo*, *qualibus*, *ubi* and *mens* have been expanded in marginal glosses throughout, and in the

<sup>61</sup> Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, p. 40, and *The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, 2 vols., ed. Decima L. Douie and Hugh Farmer (London, 1961), 1:32–33: “We have heard that most of the lay brethren of the order knew the historical and moral parts of both testaments so well, that, if a slip were made during the reading of the usual lessons from the Bible and the gospels, they immediately let the reader know that they had noticed this by coughing”. The author also explains, “Indeed, anyone who attempted to tell the world how well they grasped the meaning of what was read to them, and how they were able to draw from it fiery sparks of spiritual intelligence would scarcely be believed”, *The Life of St. Hugh*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>62</sup> Stephanie Seeberg, “Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Admont Nuns from the Second Half of the Twelfth-Century: Reflections on Their Function” in *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany*, ed. Alison I. Beach, *Medieval Church Studies* 13 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 99–121 at 104–07.

<sup>63</sup> Seeberg, “Illustrations”, p. 105; Fiona J. Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights: Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 2007), p. 112; and Walter Cahn, “The Rule and the Book: Cistercian Book Illumination in Burgundy and Champagne” in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. Vernon (Syracuse, 1984), pp. 139–72 at 147–51.

books of Luke and Acts, one finds at least eight sets of construe marks which simplify the syntax.<sup>64</sup>

The proliferation of the Breviary marks the watershed separating the period of the giant, choir Bibles, principally manufactured one at a time for the education of novices and monks, from that of later medieval Bibles. Breviaries first appeared in small numbers at the same time as these large-format Bibles (such as the simultaneous appearance of Reims Cathedral's lectern Bible and its lectern-sized proto-Breviary), and originally served to organize and codify a set office liturgy by extracting entire readings from the Bible, commentaries and Homiliaries, probably in order to provide a more portable and convenient office manuscript for those who were traveling or for use in an infirmary.<sup>65</sup> Eventually they replaced the unwieldy assembly of Bibles, Collectars, Homiliaries, Antiphonals and numerous other manuscripts that had been juggled by the cantor and readers, in part because many of the readings incorporated into Breviaries were truncated. It became more common for members of a monastic or canonical choir to follow the office while perusing their own personal Breviary. Contemporaneously, monasteries lost their status as the principal centers of education, and education based solely on meditation on Scripture was superseded by the scholastic model. Indeed, it would have been difficult to provide a thorough introduction to Scripture within the liturgy using the uniform Breviaries mandated by reform orders such as the Cistercians, and newer orders such as the mendicants never even attempted this. The smaller, portable, closely-written Bibles most popular in the later Middle Ages retain little evidence that they were read out loud communally and used as the basis for elementary scriptural instruction. Many Giant Bibles were evidently read, and read out loud, for hundreds of years. The second Giant Bible of the Grand Chartreuse, for instance, was rebound in 1516 and 1536, and corrected in 1583.<sup>66</sup> But they were no longer the core textbooks of the monastic *schola*, just as the *schola* was no longer the choir.

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<sup>64</sup> On construe marks in medieval pedagogical texts, see Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 95. On construe marks, grammatical and syntactical glosses and tonic accents and their possible uses, see Gernot R. Wieland, "The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?" *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985) 153–73.

<sup>65</sup> Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998), pp. 169–72.

<sup>66</sup> Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible", p. 188.



THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RECEPTION OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES  
AND THE GRAPHIC *MISE EN PAGE* OF LATIN VULGATE  
BIBLES COPIED IN ENGLAND

Paul Saenger

INTRODUCTION

Historians for over a century have unanimously credited Stephen Langton with inventing the modern chapter divisions of the Bible in the context of the nascent scholastic culture of the University of Paris in the years prior to 1203. In this essay, I shall explain that the system's veritable origin (in the light of our current knowledge of the manuscripts) was not in France but at Saint Albans, a Benedictine monastery in Southern England, after ca. 1180. It was in Bibles copied at the royal abbey of Saint Albans near London between 1180 and 1200 that the modern chapter numbers (with numerous minor variations), inspired by the *sederim* of the Hebrew Pentateuch, first appeared. In the early examples the new numbering was placed (as in Hebrew Bibles) in the margins of Bibles still formatted into paragraphs appropriate for receiving older schemas. On the Continent the earliest Bible equipped with modern numbering originated at Cîteaux before 1200. In Paris the first Bibles with modern divisions may be dated approximately to between 1200 and 1210, and all come from the monastery of Saint Victor, an abbey with numerous ties to England and to the abbey of Saint Albans in particular.

The earliest use of fixed divisions of any sort for purposes of reference also began in England ca. 1180, but references that cite the new numbers first appeared in a series of *quaestiones*, *summas*, and early biblical concordances composed by English scholars in Paris and in England in the second decade of the thirteenth century, one of whom was Stephen Langton. In manuscripts of these scholastic works, references to the new numbering first were added in the margins (or interlinearly) by the original scribes in copies of their texts dating from ca. 1215. The first datable Bible that from its inception was formatted to receive the new divisions was copied in England, probably at Canterbury, at about the same date (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 5, datable to before 1231); the first firmly

datable Parisian Bible formatted in analogous fashion (Dole, BM, MS 15) is from 1234. Between ca. 1225 and 1230 biblical commentaries and *postillae* containing references to the new chapter schema were themselves reformatted into sections corresponding to the new chapter divisions (with the same variants between England and Paris that were present in Bibles) in an evolution of *mise-en-page* comparable to that of many contemporary manuscripts of the New and Old Testaments. Works of biblical exegesis formatted to replicate the new divisions, as far as I can now determine, emerged first in England and among English scholars in Paris.

#### ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND GRAPHIC TRADITIONS IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND THE CONTINENT

The emergence of the new chapter divisions in English monasteries and the peculiarly Insular institution of cathedral monasteries must be viewed in the context of a confluence of new interest in oriental languages and the peculiar graphic tradition of the British Isles. Interest in Hebrew, Arabic and Greek formed part of the profound change in culture, termed the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century. Over sixty years after Burckhardt introduced the concept of the Renaissance in the context of the late Middle Ages, Charles Homer Haskins returned to it to explain the intellectual transformation of twelfth-century Europe.<sup>1</sup> The twelfth century shared with the Italian Renaissance an interest in oriental languages although the study of Arabic was not to play a significant role in Quattrocento Italy.<sup>2</sup> The twelfth-century scholarly interest in these eastern languages was, however, unrelated to a quest to restore the ethos of the ancient world by kindling a rebirth of the art, the literatures or the scripts of a past golden age. Even for classical Latin texts such as Pliny, the twelfth-century emphasis was on current utility and not historical textual integrity.<sup>3</sup>

The twelfth century's intellectual interests were anchored firmly in the learning of the East as it then existed, and therefore the new intellectual

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<sup>1</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Versuch* (Basel, 1860); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).

<sup>2</sup> See Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Oxford, 1982), pp. 421–62.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Homer Haskins, "Henry II as a Patron of Literature" in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 72–77, at p. 75.



ethos of Western Europe at this time may more accurately be described as a Reception rather than a Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> The reception of Eastern learning had implications for script, page format and codicology. These consequences profoundly differed from those encountered three centuries later. In the twelfth century (and in the early decades of the thirteenth century as well) the paleographic Oriental reception was divided along geographic lines between the Insular realm (including Ireland, Great Britain, Anglo-Norman France and certain German monasteries) and the Continent.

On the Continent (notably in Italy and France) in keeping with traditions that dated back to Jerome and other Western Fathers, the principle of transliteration dominated. Jerome's fifth-century translation of the Hebrew Bible, the *Iuxta Hebraicum*, and his other writings had included not a single character of Hebrew script and similarly Jerome's glossary of Hebrew names and other works were entirely recorded in the letters of the Latin alphabet.<sup>5</sup> Cassiodorus was the sole Latin Father to use real Hebrew letters, but he did so rarely and exclusively in his commentaries on the acrostic Psalms; in the early Middle Ages Hebrew letters disappeared even in copies of these commentaries. In twelfth- and thirteenth-century France, Hebrew words in Latin texts were frequently present, but almost exclusively in transliteration.<sup>6</sup>

For Greek, the pattern of Oriental reception in twelfth-century Latin texts on the Continent was different but related. Jerome in the fifth century had incorporated into his Latin treatises and epistles transcriptions of Greek terms in antique Greek uncial script, but after the fall of Rome in Continental manuscripts, these Greek words and phrases within the texts of the Western fathers were written in characters that were increasingly

<sup>4</sup> Haskins himself used the term *reception* in his 1915 article, "The Reception of Arabic Science in England", *English Historical Review* 30 (1915), 56–69.

<sup>5</sup> See Alexander Sperber, "Hebrew Based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 12–13 (1937–38), 103–24, at pp. 103–13.

<sup>6</sup> In the works of Andrew of Saint Victor and Petrus Alfonsi, which were diffused from Paris, there is no trace of Hebrew script, even for the *tetragram*; see in this regard Beryl Smalley, "A Commentary on the Hebraica by Herbert of Bosham", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 18 (1951), 29–65, at p. 47. In the early thirteenth century, Guillaume de Bourges cited Hebrew exclusively in Latin transliteration; see Gilbert Dahan, *Guillaume de Bourges: Livre des guerres du Seigneur et deux homélies* (Paris, 1981), p. 15. BnF, MS lat. 16558 containing extracts from the Talmud in Latin translation ca. 1238–1241 cites Hebrew only in Latin transliteration; see Ch. Merchavia, "Talmudic Terms and Idioms in the Latin Manuscript B.N. 16558", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 11 (1966), 175–201. BnF, MS lat. 36, fols. 355r–356v, an appendix to the usual Interpretations of Hebrew Names, a brief tract on transliteration, is to my knowledge the only Latin thirteenth-century text transcribed in Paris that contains Hebrew letters crudely reproduced by a gentile scribe.

assimilated into Latinized forms (resembling Roman rustic capitals), which by the twelfth and thirteenth century scholars competent in Greek often found to be unintelligible.<sup>7</sup> In twelfth-century France, stimulated by renewed contact with the East, a new Greek vocabulary for theology and philosophy spread from Byzantium to the Cathedral School of Chartres. This vocabulary included such words as *hule* (taken from Calcidius) and *isagoge* (borrowed from Porphyry), but these Greek words, in the writings of Bernard of Chartres and his Continental students, were always copied in transliteration in a Latin minuscule identical to the surrounding Latin text.<sup>8</sup> From the tenth to the first half of the twelfth century Arabic terms, outside of Mozarabic Spain, were similarly represented in Latin transliteration.

In striking contrast, in the Insular realm – and to a far lesser degree in Germany – transliteration in the late twelfth century was complemented by transcription, by which I mean that individual letters, isolated terms and continuous excerpts drawn from newly received oriental texts were all copied within Latin tracts in the contemporary (i.e. twelfth-century) characters of their oriental scripts. The explanation of this profound divergence in graphic practice between France and Italy and the Insular domain was that in the British Isles there had evolved, beginning in the ninth century, an established tradition of manuscripts containing written texts that were simultaneously diglot and digraphic. In the tenth century the Psalms in Old English were copied interlinearly in Latin Psalters with each language in its own script.<sup>9</sup> In Britain, from the late tenth century onwards, texts in the Anglo-Saxon tongue came to be copied exclusively in characters not ordinarily employed for written Latin.<sup>10</sup> As a consequence in the

<sup>7</sup> See the remarks of Robert Grosseteste cited by R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1988), p. 184.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Edward Dutton, *The Glossae super Platonem of Bernard of Chartres*, Pontifical Institute Studies and Texts 107 (Toronto, 1991), p. 323; Clemens C. J. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policratici sive De nugis curialium* (Oxford, 1909), p. 205. For *hule*, see Anna Somfai, “The Eleventh-Century Shift in the Reception of Plato’s *Timaeus* and Calcidius’s *Commentary*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002), 1–21, at p. 14. Constantinus Africanus in the *Isagoge Ioanniti ad Tegni Galeni*, Adelard of Bath (or more likely his students) in the *Liber Ysogarum Alchorismi*, and Odo of Canterbury in the *Isagoge in Theologiam* were among the twelfth-century writers who employed *Isagoge* as a title for their works. For Adelard, see BnF, MS lat. 16208; for Odo, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.33. The period also saw a new interest in Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and Aristotelian logic.

<sup>9</sup> See the Vespasian Psalter, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A.1, in Frederick G. Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1900), no. X.

<sup>10</sup> For examples, see Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. xv–xxxiii.

eleventh century an Old English/Latin duplex Psalter might be written in opposing columns with each language in its own script.<sup>11</sup> The Insular digraphic page of bilingual Psalters was linked to runes and oghams, and graphic symbols borrowed from late antique and early medieval non-Roman graphic systems that had migrated in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries from the British Isles to Insular monastic colonies in Germany.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Latin duplex Psalters copied in Ireland in the eleventh century presented in parallel the Gallican Psalter (derived from the Greek) and the *Iuxta Hebraicum* version of the Psalter that Jerome rendered directly from the Hebrew, with each version presented in its own form of Insular script.<sup>13</sup>

Such Insular graphic distinction in script linked to underlying discordance of language may be regarded as precursors of the characteristic proclivity of English scribes in the late twelfth century to record individual Hebrew letters and excerpts from the Hebrew Psalms as well as other portions of Hebrew Scripture in Hebrew script with its own distinct alphabet.<sup>14</sup> In a very palpable manner, the ninth-century tables of runic symbols and their names thus constituted antecedents to the Hebrew characters that came in the second half of the twelfth century to complement, within the Insular sphere, the Vulgate's transcription of the names of the Hebrew letters, present in Jerome's rendering of the acrostic Psalms as well as Lamentations 1–4 and Proverbs 31.10–31. In England we encounter such actual Hebrew letters juxtaposed to the transliterated Hebrew names in Psalm 118 for the first time ca. 1155–1160 in the Eadwine Psalter from Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>15</sup> We find them again ca. 1180 in the margins of

<sup>11</sup> The Paris Psalter, BnF, MS lat. 8824, is the example; Bertram Colgrave, ed., *The Paris Psalter: Ms. Bibliothèque nationale fonds Latin 8824*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 8 (Copenhagen, 1958).

<sup>12</sup> René Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition*, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitg. Door de Faculteit van Wijsbegeerte en Letteren 118 (Bruges, 1954).

<sup>13</sup> See Rouen, BM, MS 24 (A.41) and Ludwig Bieler and Gearóid MacNiocail, "Fragments of an Irish Double Psalter with Glosses in the Library of Trinity College Dublin", *Celtica* 5 (1961), 28–39.

<sup>14</sup> Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les Manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: Etude historique et paléographique* (Paris, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, fols. 211–226; *The Canterbury Psalter, with introduction by M. R. James* (London, 1935), fols. 211–227; for date and provenance, see Margaret Gibson in M. Gibson, T.A. Heslop and R.W. Pfaff, ed., *The Eadwine Psalter*, Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association 14 (University Park, 1992), pp. 137–38. The characters for the Hebrew letters in Psalm 118 were highlighted in a Hebrew/Latin diglot and digraphic Psalter probably written at Canterbury ca. 1150 by a scribe highly familiar with the text format of the Latin Vulgate in Leiden, University Library, Oriental MS 4725 (Scaliger no. 8), fols. 48–50 (numbers appear on the verso); see G.I. Liefstinck,

Lamentations in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, a Bible copied at Saint Albans which is the earliest example evincing the modern chapter divisions. Hebrew letters also occur in a few German monastic manuscripts of approximately the same date.<sup>16</sup>

English manuscripts presented an analogous graphic reception of the signs for numbers derived from Arabic. In mnemonic verses and tables copied in eleventh- and early twelfth-century monastic codices containing treatises on the abacus, the names of the Arabic numbers in Latin transliteration were accompanied by crude representations of the Arabic symbols for their numeric values.<sup>17</sup> A modified and increasingly standardized version of Arabic symbols (in some respects closer to the signs then current in the Islamic world) appeared in southern England in the late twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> Initially, these new numeric symbols appeared with their names in transliteration, but unlike the characters present in earlier tracts on the use of the abacus, the new signs were used for algorisms, i.e. written calculations either on parchment (examples survive) or wax tablets.<sup>19</sup> The more or less standardized set of forms of the ten symbols (o through 9) that emerged in the last third of the twelfth century in England became in the course of the early thirteenth century the basis of the canonical Arabic numbers of the medieval West. Not only used for written arithmetic, they were also employed for the numbering of textual

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"The Psalterium Hebraicum from Saint Augustine's Canterbury Rediscovered in the Scaliger Bequest at Leyden", *Cambridge Bibliographical Society Transactions* 2 (1955), 97–104 and plates VI–VIII.

<sup>16</sup> See for example Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS theol. fol. 353, fols. 59v–63v, from the abbey of Liesborn, diocese of Münster, Germany, and Munich, Bayerische Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Clm 4112, fol. 1r, from Augsburg, where the graphic Hebrew embellishes and complements the transliterations provided by Jerome in his *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*. For Saint Albans, see below, pp. 51–52.

<sup>17</sup> The oldest example appears to be Oxford, Saint John's College, MS 17; see Menso Folkerts, "Frühe westliche Benennungen der indisch-arabischen Ziffern und ihr Vorkommen" in *Sic Itur ad Astra: Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften, Festschrift für den Arabisten Paul Kunitzsch zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 224–25. A mid-twelfth-century example is Hereford Cathedral, MS O.1.6., fol. 78r; Roger A. B. Mynors and Rodney M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Rochester, NY, 1993), pp. 7–8.

<sup>18</sup> See Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.16, M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–1904), 2:355; Charles Burnett, "Algorismi vel helcep decentior est diligentia: the Arithmetic of Adelard and his Circle" in *Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter: Der lateinische und arabische Sprachbereich*, ed. Menso Folkerts (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 244–52.

<sup>19</sup> Gillian R. Evans, "From Abacus to Algorism: Theory and Practice in Medieval Arithmetic", *The British Journal for the History of Science* 10 (1977), 114–31, at pp. 114–16.

and materially defined segments within manuscript books.<sup>20</sup> The use of the new forms of Arabic numbers to sequence chapters, columns, written lines, pages and folios was from the twelfth century onward particularly evident in England.<sup>21</sup> In English Bibles, the new numbers (as we shall see) were consistently used to denote the new chapter division at a very early date.

Similarly English scribes were also pioneers in the twelfth-century reception of correctly executed Greek minuscule. We find, for example, accurately written Greek script in the *Isagoge*, a tract which also includes Old Testament excerpts in Hebrew, composed by an English monk named Odo, whom we may reasonably recognize as Odo of Canterbury (†1200); the tract was dedicated to Gilbert Foliot as Bishop of London (1161–1183).<sup>22</sup> Henry II (1154–1189, a noted patron of scholars interested in Eastern learning) was, according to Walter Map († ca. 1210), familiar with all languages spoken from the English Channel to the River Jordan. William of Conches, Henry's tutor, re-introduced the ninth-century Insular practice of incorporating Greek terms in Greek characters into newly composed Latin texts.<sup>23</sup> Early in the following century, Robert Grosseteste extensively employed graphic Greek in his marginalia, in a manner for which no contemporary Continental equivalent existed,<sup>24</sup> and he also used Greek words written in

<sup>20</sup> These forms dominated those that had begun to permeate Latin texts transcribed adjacent to the Mediterranean in southern Italy and Spain; see Charles Burnett, "Indian Numerals in the Mediterranean Basin in the Twelfth Century with Special Reference to the Eastern Forms" in *From China to Paris: 2000 Years Transmission of Mathematical Ideas* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 237–88.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Lehmann, "Blatter, Seiten, Spalten, Zeilen", *Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1941–45), 3:1–59, 45–49; Andrew G. Little and Franz Pelzer, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. 1282–1302* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 60–61. For the use of Arabic numerals for chapters in an English scholastic codex in the thirteenth century as opposed to Continental copies of the same text composed in Paris (which used Roman numerals), see Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 66 described by Nikolaus Wicki, ed., *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis Summa de Bono* (Bern, 1985), 1:34\*; see also Artur Landgraf, "Studien zur Theologie des Zwölften Jahrhunderts", *Traditio* 1 (1943), 188–222, at p. 213.

<sup>22</sup> *Isagoge in theologiam*, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.33, fol. 121, reproduced in P. Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah and the English Chapter Divisions of the Vulgate Attributed to Stephen Langton" in *Pesher Nahum: Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature from Antiquity to the Middle Ages Presented to Norman Golb*, eds. Joel L. Kraemer and M. Wechsler, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 66 (Chicago, 2012). On the possible identity of Odo, author of the *Isagoge*, and Odo of Canterbury, see Rodney M. Thomson, "Odo of Canterbury", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 9 (2004), p. 949.

<sup>23</sup> William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. Edouard Jouneau, *Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age* 13 (Paris, 1965), p. 174. On Henry II's acquaintance with Eastern tongues, see Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James, rev. Christopher N. L. Brooke and Roger A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. 476–77.

<sup>24</sup> For numerous examples, see Bodl., MS Bodley 198.

Greek characters within his surviving biblical commentaries.<sup>25</sup> In this essay, however, I shall focus principally on the reception of graphic Hebrew and Arabic and the relation of the graphic reception of these two eastern languages to the textual segmentation of the Bible that we know today.

#### THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NEW CHAPTER DIVISIONS

The Bible in England during the later Middle Ages was segmented into books and chapters closely corresponding to those we now use, but these divisions can be shown to have varied slightly at numerous points from those current in Paris, where it is now generally thought the modern segmentation of the Vulgate was invented. Such divergence is significant because, in past centuries, chroniclers and scholars disagreed considerably about where the modern chapter divisions had originated. Most French and Catholic authors even up until the first decade of the twentieth century claimed that the modern chapters had been established by Hugh of Saint Cher († ca. 1263), the pre-eminent French Dominican biblical commentator who lectured at the University of Paris in the mid-thirteenth century and who in his *Postills* used chapter divisions that were almost exactly the same as those adopted ca. 1230 as standard by the stationers of the University of Paris, who both copied and sold books.<sup>26</sup> Since the end of the thirteenth century, French and Italian chroniclers and scholars credited Hugh with inventing the first verbal concordance to Sacred Scripture (an alphabetically arranged reference tool which in its standard redaction referred to the standard Parisian version of the new chapter divisions).<sup>27</sup> To them, it seemed totally logical to conclude that

<sup>25</sup> James McEvoy and Laura Rizzerio, eds., "Roberti Grosseteste: *Expositio in Epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Galatas*" in *Opera Roberti Grosseteste*, CCCM 130 (Turnholt, 1995), pp. 8–15 and 52. This text is preserved only in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 57 (s. xv, before 1432).

<sup>26</sup> Eugène Manguet, "Chapitres de la Bible", *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 2 (1899), col. 564; Hermann Zschokke, *Historia sacra Antiqui Testamenti* (6th ed.; Vienna, 1910), p. 414. On the date at which the stationers adopted the canonical version of the new divisions, see Laura Light, "Roger Bacon and the Origin of the Paris Bible", *Revue Bénédictine* 111 (2001), 483–507, at pp. 485–86.

<sup>27</sup> The earliest was Ps.-Henry of Ghent, *Liber viris illustribus*, ch. 40, followed by the Dominican friar Ptolemy of Lucca. Laurence Pignon, O.P. in the fifteenth century also apparently attributed the verbal concordance to him. For the date of Ps.-Henry's text, see Jean-Barthélemy Hauréau, "Mémoire sur le Liber de viris illustribus attribué à Henri de Gand", *Mémoires de l'Institut des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 30 (1883), 353. For Ptolemy of Lucca and Laurence Pignon, see Richard and Mary Rouse, "The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5–30, at p. 7.

Hugh, the great Dominican scholar and Cardinal, had also invented the new mode of chaptering itself.<sup>28</sup>

Early on, the English view was quite different. In the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century, English scribes and chroniclers claimed paternity of the verbal biblical concordance,<sup>29</sup> and Nicholas Trevet (or Trivet), a Dominican born in Somerset, in his *Annales regum Angliae* terminating in 1307 attributed the invention of modern chapter division to the celebrated Englishman and professor of theology Stephen Langton. This judgment was repeated by the very influential fourteenth-century Benedictine chronicler Ranulf Higden (†1364), whose Latin *Polychronicon* was subsequently translated into the vernacular and widely disseminated in both languages within Britain in manuscripts and then after 1482 in print. The prominent Protestant John Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs* (first English edition, 1563) attributed the invention of modern chapter division to Langton, and from 1557 onward English, German and Dutch Protestant bibliographers repeatedly attributed to Langton the division as well as the authorship of a real concordance referring to modern chapter divisions, a work which antedates the verbal concordance of Hugh of Saint Cher.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronographia* (Paris, 1567), p. 273; Sisto da Siena, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Lyon, 1592), p. 972; Aubert Le Mire, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, no. 389 in *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* (Hamburg, 1718), pp. 69–70; Henry de Sponde, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Lyon, 1686), in anno 1240; Jacques Quétif and Jacques Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Paris, 1719–1723); *Histoire littéraire de la France* (1824), 16:69–70; (1835), 18:63; and (1838), 19:39–49; Eugène Mangenot, “Concordance de la Bible”, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* 2 (1899), col. 806; idem, “Hugues de Saint-Cher”, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 7 (1922), col. 227; Carl S. Ehrlic, “Chapter and Verse Divisions” in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (New York, 1993), pp. 105–07.

<sup>29</sup> They referred to it as the *Concordanciae Anglicae* and attributed its composition to John of Darlington, counselor of Henry III (1216–1272); see Rouse and Rouse, “Verbal Concordance”, p. 14 and the colophons of BL, MS Royal 3 B.iii; G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 1:71.

<sup>30</sup> Trevet stated that Langton both introduced the use of the modern system of chapter division to commentaries on Scripture and that he had invented the chapter divisions themselves; *Annales*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), p. 216. For John Foxe, see *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Josiah Pratt (London, 1870), 2:385 (for the year 1228). Three English bibliographers attributed a concordance of theological themes (as opposed to an alphabetical verbal concordance) to Stephen Langton; see John Bale (1495–1653), *Scriptorum maioris Brytanie* (second edition; Basle, 1557–1559), p. 274; John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus anglicis* (Paris, 1619), p. 304; Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca britannico-hibernica* (London, 1748) p. 468. All give the incipit: “De vitando consortio consilio colloquiaque (or colloquio et) ...”, but list no manuscripts. The table of *initia* in Stegmüller vol. 8 permits the identification of this concordance in Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 631 (from the Abbey of Reading, s. xiii, Stegmüller 6, no. 10084). Later copies are to be found in Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Cent. V. 83 and BAV, MS lat. 4352. John Bale among his manuscript notes recorded a

French and English interpretations merged at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1887 Paulin Martin, professor at the Institut Catholique in Paris, discovered in BnF, MS lat. 14417 (a codex dating from ca. 1230 originating from the Augustinian Abbey of Saint Victor), a list of biblical incipits with a rubric that explicitly linked the modern division to Langton, identified as Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>31</sup> Soon thereafter, under the influence of Samuel Berger (†1900), the great and shrewdly diplomatic Protestant Alsatian student of the history of the Bible, the modern scholarly explanation of the origin of modern chapter division coalesced.<sup>32</sup> Berger conceded that Langton, the celebrated Englishman (who had pleased John Foxe by defending English liberties in 1215 against the Pope) had indeed originated the modern divisions, but Berger insisted that the later Archbishop of Canterbury had invented them in Paris as a professor of theology. In an attempt to substantiate his thesis that Langton had brought modern chaptering from Paris to Canterbury, Berger cited Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 5, the codex that Berger was the first accurately to identify as, and which still remains, the oldest datable Bible to incorporate from its inception the modern chapter divisions (but not the modern order of books).<sup>33</sup> However, this Bible was certainly not Parisian, but rather copied in England, likely at Canterbury Cathedral, soon after Langton's return to England in 1213, and well before 1231, a date added in a note on a flyleaf.<sup>34</sup> Since Berger, very little consideration has been given to

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copy in Lincoln College, Oxford; see Reginald Poole, *John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers* (Oxford, 1902), p. 417. Another copy was formerly at the Cathedral Library of Canterbury; M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 108, no. 1229. A third extant copy, dating from before ca. 1250, exists in Bodl., MS Laud misc. 112; see Arduinus Kleinhans, "De Concordantiis Biblicis S. Antonio Patavino aliisque fratribus minoribus saec. XIII attributis", *Antonianum* 6 (1931), 273–326, at 313–14, and Henry O. Coxe and Richard W. Hunt, *Laudian Manuscripts* (reprint with corrections and additions; Oxford, 1973), cols. 118–21 and p. 547. See also below, pp. 44–45.

<sup>31</sup> Paulin Martin, *Introduction à la critique générale de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris, 1887–1888), 2:461–74; idem, "Le Texte parisien de la Vulgate latine", *Le Muséon* 8 (1899), 444–65, at pp. 460–62. These incipits were later and independently published by Otto Schmid, *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte* (Graz, 1892), pp. 59–91.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Berger, *De l'histoire de la Vulgate en France* (Paris, 1887), pp. 11–12.

<sup>33</sup> Mazarine 5 incorporated two numberings. Spaces for the older Alcuinic division were placed within the text, and the new divisions were numbered in the margin. Previous English Bibles had, like the second Winchester Bible, Bodl., MS Auct. E. inf. 1–2, been formatted into paragraphs conforming to the Alcuinic division.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris, 1959), 1:412. The list of chapter divisions, attributed to Archbishop Langton, in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 168 similarly follows an English ordering of books.



the possibility that the modern chapter divisions (replete with the characteristic English variants abundantly present in Mazarine MS 5) might have existed in England or elsewhere in the monastic world prior to Langton's return.<sup>35</sup>

#### LANGTON'S USE OF THE NEW CHAPTERS

Scholars have erroneously claimed that Langton was using the modern chapter divisions by 1203.<sup>36</sup> In fact, the earliest extant manuscript copies of Langton's biblical commentaries (all of which date from either the second or the third decades of the thirteenth century) vary significantly in the mode in which they relate to segmentation of the Bible. Some manuscripts of his *Commentaries* or *Postillae* (the two terms are synonymous) are divided in the margins into the modern divisions (with variants), some into other numbered schemes of division, and some into both. Still other recensions of the *Commentaries* for several biblical books survive in early manuscripts that evince no chapter divisions (or internal references to them) whatsoever. Modern scholars have therefore surmised that this heterogeneous corpus of Langton manuscripts documents the confusion generated by the reception of Langton's newly invented system in the early years of the thirteenth century by secretaries and students of diverse nations residing in Paris. In effect, the current judgment of scholars suggests a thirty-year-long period of transition to the new and standardized

<sup>35</sup> The possibility was suggested by Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge*, Bibliothèque thomiste 26 (Paris, 1944), p. 163, and Karl Lang in his discussion on the Bible of Stephen Harding, see Karl Lang, *Die Bibel Stephen Hardings: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der neutestamentlichen Vulgata*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Bonn, 1939, p. 52 and "Die Bibel Stephen Hardings", *Cistercienser Chronik*, 51 (1939), 247–256, 275–281, 294–298 and 52 (1940), 6–13, 17–23, 33–37 at 51 (1939), 281. See also, David Luscombe, "From Paris to Paraclete: The Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988), 247–83, at pp. 253–55.

<sup>36</sup> Beryl Smalley, citing Troyes, BM, MS 1046, claimed that Langton was using the modern division as early as 1203, but the date cited is that of Langton's Paris lectures and not of the copy; see Smalley, "Exempla in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 17 (1933), 121–29 at p. 123; eadem, *Study*, pp. 223–24 and below at note 46. Numerous scholars have followed Smalley, but George Lacombe was correct in stating that 1203 was the date of authorial composition and not of scribal transcription, in Lacombe, "Studies on the Commentaries of Stephen Langton", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 5 (1930), 5–151 at p. 63. Spicq states that Langton's schema dates from before 1206 (the year he was elected Archbishop), in *Esquisse d'une histoire*, p. 163, note 1. Numerous manuscripts designate Langton without the Canterbury title, but all were copied later.

division canonically established by the stationers of the University in about 1230 that scholars trained at Paris disseminated.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to emphasize that no codices of any of Langton's works survive dating from the twelfth-century or ca. 1200. In his commentary on Jerome's prologue to Joshua, which Langton composed in Paris in the late twelfth century, he insisted on the utility of distinctions "per capitula" (which he identified with Jerome's *cola et commata*), but he did not mention, nor did he imply a numbering for these divisions.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, manuscript evidence indicates that secretaries close to Langton only began to employ numbers (in this case, modern chapter numbers) for the citation of Scripture during the final stage of compiling their master's *Summa* or *Quaestiones*, of which we fortunately possess the authorial manuscript, written on his return to Canterbury in 1213 or just prior thereto.<sup>39</sup> In this codex, now in Saint John's College, Cambridge, the biblical citations referring to modern chapter numbers occur only in two discrete clusters, added by a single hand, which may well be English, in spaces that the same scribe had initially left blank [fig. 2.1].<sup>40</sup> These references are lodged within a codex composed of discrete quires, written by a variety of hands, some of which appear to be Continental. In a portion written in this latter mode, there occur implicit references to an older system of chapter division (without citation of numbers) in the context of the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Amaury d'Esneval, "La Division de la Vulgate Latine en chapitres dans l'édition Parisienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978), 559–68 (at 561); Light, "Roger Bacon".

<sup>38</sup> BnF, MS lat 393, fol. 32; Smalley, *Study*, p. 224.

<sup>39</sup> Cambridge, Saint John's College, MS 57 (C.7); see Alys L. Gregory, "The Cambridge Manuscript of the Questiones of Stephen Langton", *The New Scholasticism* 4 (1930), 162–226. It was likely at this time that a single reference to a modern chapter number was inserted into another Langton text in which no other chapter references are present, his *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* as preserved in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VII.C.14; see Artur Landgraf, *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Kardinals Stephan Langton*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 37, pt. 1 (Münster, 1952), pp. xix and 115.

<sup>40</sup> On fol. 175 verso; note this scribe's repeated use of the Insular ÷ sign for *est* and the Insular H sign for *enim*. For other indications of an English origin for this codex, see Riccardo Quinto, *Doctor Nominatissimus: Stefano Langton (†1228) e la tradizione delle sue opere*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters NF 39, p. 101.

<sup>41</sup> On fol. 261 recto; see Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, p. 36. Langton's commentary on the Epistles of Paul, which appears to have been revised in this period, in some manuscripts combines older and new numbering, see Artur Landgraf, "Die Schriftzitate in der Scholastik um die Wende des 12 zum 13 Jahrhundert", *Biblica*, 18 (1937), 74–94 at 86 and idem, *Sentenzenkommentar*, p. xxiff.

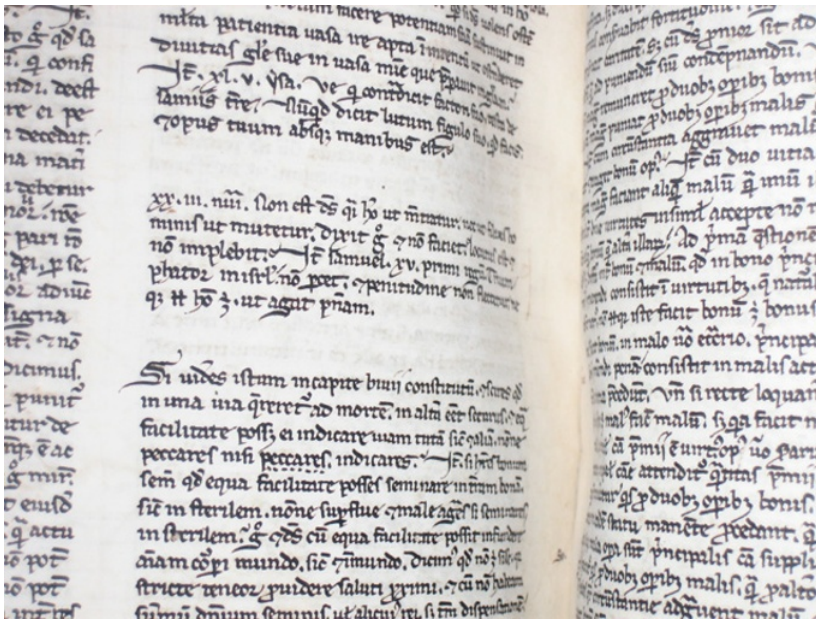


Figure 2.1. Cambridge, Saint John's College. MS 57 (c. 7), fol. 175v.

One of the earliest (and to this date not well studied) manuscripts of Langton's commentary on the Pentateuch, transcribed probably in France, presumably at Paris, at roughly the same time as the final confection of the *Quaestiones*, evinces a few contemporary insertions of modern chapter numbers in the margin to identify cross references within the continuously written text of the commentary, i.e. the text was written in a text format in which the commentary for each biblical book was not yet divided by either spaces or paragraphs into the apposite biblical chapters [fig. 2.2].<sup>42</sup> In later manuscripts of the commentaries similar cross references to biblical books citing modern chapter numbers were systematically incorporated into the body of the text.<sup>43</sup> A process of continuing *post factum* editing, including revisions and the insertion of cross references,

<sup>42</sup> Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E. 35; an invaluable description by Dr. Debra T. Cashion is on file at the Library.

<sup>43</sup> See for example BnF, MSS lat. 384, and lat. 510 and Chartres, BM, MS 294, as cited by George Lacombe, "Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 5 (1930), 98 and 158. This process occurs also in manuscripts of the *De vitiis et virtutibus*, BnF lat. 18189.

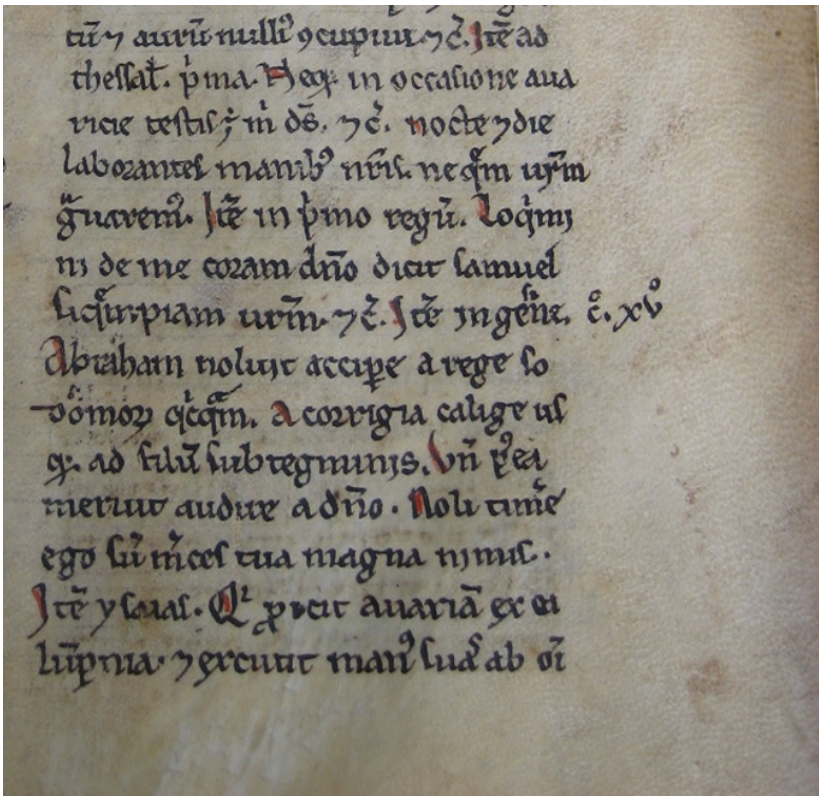


Figure 2.2. Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 35, fol. 172r.

was deemed normal in Langton's world, and he himself, when lecturing at Paris, believed that a process of revision and inserted cross reference (however without reference to numbers) had transpired at the time of Joshua and Ezra, when, or so he thought, the cross references linking Kings and Chronicles had been inserted.<sup>44</sup> Later, Langton made copious references to modern chapter numbers in his *Concordantie reales*, the classified index of theological topics, attributed to him by English bibliographers, a work not intended for the classroom, but to aid priests in the preparation of sermons. This real concordance, which in organization resembles the lost *Concordance* of Thomas Gallus and a later concordance erroneously

<sup>44</sup> Avrom Saltman, ed., *Stephen Langton: Commentary on the Book of Chronicles* (Ramat-Gan, 1978), pp. 24–25.

attributed to Anthony of Padua, was apparently composed and subsequently disseminated in England. Langton's work evinces an interest in pastoral reform (an aspect of his life which made him, like Grosseteste, a sympathetic figure to later Protestants).<sup>45</sup>

Evidence suggests that following the insertions of cross references citing the new divisions, the originally continuous text of Langton's *Commentaries* was only formatted into chapter divisions to agree to the new chapter numbers of Scripture in the final years of Langton's life, when he no longer resided in France, in a process that he therefore did not supervise and which likely continued after his death in 1228. Troyes, BM, MS 1046, from the library of the collegial church of Saint Etienne of Troyes containing Langton's *Commentary* on the Minor Prophets, a text composed in 1203, was likely copied in or near Troyes in about 1230.<sup>46</sup> It shows an on-going progression from a continuous text to a format in which biblical chapter numbers were written in red within the text in blank spaces left vacant in order to receive them [fig. 2.3 and plate I].<sup>47</sup> The points of

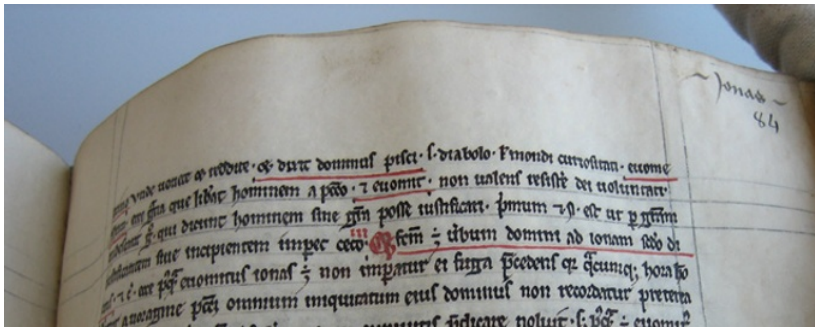


Figure 2.3. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1046, fol. 84r.

<sup>45</sup> See Stegmüller 10084; Falconer Madan and Herbert H. E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, volume 2, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1922), p. 131. Only one of the five recorded copies (three of which are extant) appears to be of Continental origin. The title phrase *Concordantie reales* appears in the colophon of BAV, MS lat. 4352 (see above at note 30). See also Quinto, *Doctor Nominatissimus*, pp. 35–6, 61 and 302. Quinto assimilates the Concordance to Langton's *Distinctiones*. It should also be compared to the liturgically arranged concordance or *exempla* in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 14417, fols. 127–28. On Langton as a preacher and reformer, see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 239.

<sup>46</sup> For the provenance and date, see Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine*, 5:665; and *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques*, series in 4°, 2 (Paris, 1855), p. 431.

<sup>47</sup> The formatting for modern chapter divisions is fully evolved in the front portion of the manuscript and reverts to *continua* towards the end.

chapter division inserted included variants found in English Bibles, but not normal in Paris.<sup>48</sup> Slightly later, and certainly long after Langton had left Paris, a codex containing the commentary on the Minor Prophets (which identified Langton as a university master of Paris and not as an English archbishop) was transcribed at the abbey of Clairvaux initially without any chapter division whatsoever.<sup>49</sup> In Parisian codices of about the same date, Langton's commentaries on various biblical books were divided into biblical chapters by unnumbered symbols, by the insertion of paragraph signs within the text, and the placement of the numbers in the margin (some modern, some not), more than a generation after this technique for the post-factum demarcation of biblical chapter division had first appeared in Bibles at Saint Victor and subsequently elsewhere in Paris.<sup>50</sup> However, in England, the division of the Langton commentaries into the modern divisions is seen earlier in Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.I.7.

#### EARLY SCHOLASTIC USE OF NUMBERED CHAPTERS BY FRENCH SCHOLARS IN PARIS

References to numbered chapters were not unique to Langton. The insertion of cross-references to biblical chapter numbers was indeed particularly characteristic of pedagogy at the University of Paris in the second and third decades of the thirteenth century. However, Parisian scholars at this date did not generally use the new chapters. To the contrary, the numbering employed by Continental scholars usually differed from that historically associated with Langton. Numerous Bibles present in Paris in the early decades of the thirteenth century have marginal concordance notes referring to pre-modern chapter schemas.<sup>51</sup> The thirteenth-century copies of the *Historia calamitatum* of Peter Abelard (†1142) included numerous references to the Bible without citation of numbered chapters. However,

<sup>48</sup> Note for example the incipit of Hosea 11 (at 11.12), of Hosea 14 (at 14.2), of Nahum 2 (at 1.15), and possibly Hosea 2 (at 2.11).

<sup>49</sup> Troyes, BM, MS 1004; see André Vernet and Jean-François Genest, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1979), 1:199; Smalley, *Study*, p. 206.

<sup>50</sup> BnF, MSS lat. 384 and 393. For examples of these symbols, see lat. 384, fols. 100v, 101v, 195v, 196r, and 196v. The use of an unusual enlarged red form of the ampersand in Troyes, BM, MS 1046 to denote chapters 2 and 3 of the Book of Jonah may have a similar origin.

<sup>51</sup> Examples include BnF, MSS lat. 11537 and lat. 14233. BnF, MS lat. 393, fols. 8r-31v, contains a guide to the insertion of such marginal concordances in a Bible with an old and at least in part Alcuinic system of division.

one-third of the way through the work, there occur two isolated citations of non-modern biblical chapter numbers in close proximity, which likely originated as interlineal or marginal additions subsequently incorporated into the text body by an early thirteenth-century university-trained scribe.<sup>52</sup> Peter the Chanter's commentary on Revelations (a text composed in the last decade of the twelfth century but edited and disseminated by Parisian students during the first third of the thirteenth century) evinces, in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 176, a non-modern chapter division inserted by the coordinated presence of paraph signs within the text and Roman numerals in the margins.<sup>53</sup> In Douai, BM, MS 389, an early thirteenth-century codex of the short version of Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, secretaries in preparing the text inserted references to non-modern chapter numbers to identify biblical citations. Indicating an on-going process, these roman numerals were partially added in the margin and partially incorporated into the body of the text.<sup>54</sup> In contrast, in the second portion (and the second portion only) of his *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, the modern system of reference was employed.<sup>55</sup>

#### BIBLICAL CITATION BY EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH SCHOLARS IN PARIS AND IN ENGLAND

If thirteenth-century copies of Peter the Chanter's work on occasion evinced the use of modern chapter division, Thomas Gallus, an Insular monastic canon at the Parisian abbey of Saint Victor, which hosted numerous English monks in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, by 1218 was regularly and exclusively citing modern chapter divisions at virtually the same time as Langton's incipient use of modern chaptering (with

<sup>52</sup> See for example J. Monfrin, ed., *Historia calamitatum: Texte critique* (Paris, 1959), p. 80. These have been mistaken for modern chapter divisions, but they are not; cf. Luscombe, "From Paris to the Paraclete", pp. 253–54. I am grateful to Michael Clanchy for bringing to my attention these chapter citations that have sometimes been mistaken for references to the modern system.

<sup>53</sup> See Landgraf, "Die Schriftzitate in der Scholastik", 77–78.

<sup>54</sup> A copy of this codex is on deposit at the IRHT, Paris. The modern chapter numbers that appear in parentheses in Georges Galopin's edition (Mons, 1639), reprinted in PL 205:119–89, were inserted by the early modern editor and are not present in the codex.

<sup>55</sup> *Summa de Sacramentis*, ed. Jean-Albert Dugauquier, *Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia* (Louvain, 1954–1967), pt. 2, pp. 217, 249, 351.



English variants) can be documented.<sup>56</sup> Contemporaneously, Robert of Courçon (†1219), an Englishman who taught at Paris, made abundant citations to the numbered chapters of canon law. Like Langton, with whom he sometimes associated, he introduced a few references to modern biblical chapter division in the late stage of composing his *Summa de Penitentia*. His secretaries inserted these references to biblical book and chapter interlinearly in a manner analogous and contemporary to the process evinced in the authorial codex of Langton's *Quaestiones*.<sup>57</sup>

After Langton left France, Englishmen in Paris and in England were precocious in referring to the new system. Gerald of Wales, who dedicated his *Speculum ecclesiae* to Stephen Langton and who corresponded with him, employed the new chaptering system for a reference to Isaiah in the authorial manuscript of his *Gemma ecclesiastica*, London, Lambeth Palace, MS 236, prepared before his death in 1223.<sup>58</sup> Peter of Corbeil (†1222, whose place of birth is in fact truly unknown and whose writings circulated primarily in England and were frequently cited by Langton and other English scholars) observed the new chapter division in his *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul*.<sup>59</sup> Thomas de Chobham (†1233/6) did not refer to

<sup>56</sup> See Gabriel Théry, "Thomas Gallus et les concordances bibliques" in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters: Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung der 60. Lebensjahres*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, suppl. vol. 3 (Münster, 1935), pp. 427–46; idem, "Commentaire sur Isaïe de Thomas de Saint Victor", *La Vie Spirituelle* 47 (1936), Suppl., 146–62; Mario Capellino, *Tommaso di San Vittore: Abate Vercellese* (Vercelli, 1978), p. 73. On Thomas Gallus' insular origin, see Paul Saenger, "The British Isles and the Origin of the Modern Mode of Biblical Citation", *Syntagma* 1 (2005), 77–123, at 87–91.

<sup>57</sup> See Paul Saenger in collaboration with Laura Bruck, "The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible", *La Fractura historiográfica: Las Investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el tercer milenio*, eds. Javier San José Lera, Javier Burguillo and Laura Maier (Salamanca, 2008), pp. 177–202 at p. 181; Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah", p. 138. See BnF, MS lat. 15747.

<sup>58</sup> Lambeth Palace, MS 236; see John J. Hagen, *Gerald of Wales: The Jewel of the Church* (Leyden, 1979), pp. xv–xvi; Richard M. Loomis, *Gerald of Wales: The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln 1186–1200* (New York, 1985), p. xviii; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930–32), pp. 381–83.

<sup>59</sup> BnF, MS lat. 15603, fols. 168–173, 176–187, see Heinrich Denifle, *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1.17) und Justificatio* (Mainz, 1905), pp. 90–94. The name of Petrus does not appear in the manuscript which dates before ca. 1230, and it is possible that Denifle, who rarely erred, relied on an annotated early edition of Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, the format of which provided for reader annotation; cf. Landgraf, "Die Schriftzitate", pp. 91–92. The fact that Peter was surnamed "de Corbie" has led scholars since the seventeenth century to assume that he was French, but contemporary proof is lacking. The difficulty of determining who in fact was English in the twelfth century was long ago recognized by William Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects* (Oxford, 1900), pp. 148–49. Even Stephen Langton was sometimes called Stephen of Paris; George Lacombe, "Studies on the Commentaries", p. 12. Thomas Gallus was also sometimes called "of Paris"; see Saenger, "The British Isles", p. 87.



numbered chapters in his *Summa de Penitentia*, an early work composed in Paris, but his later works, composed in England, made intense reference to the numbered chapters of the modern schema.<sup>60</sup> Robert Grosseteste, a companion of Courçon and Langton in preaching against heresy ca. 1210–1217 always used the modern numbering schema (with characteristic English variants) in his marginalia and in his tabular concordance (ca. 1230), and even earlier he refers to the new division within the body of the text in his *Templum Dei*, composed soon after 1220.<sup>61</sup> Moreover Grosseteste's postills on Galatians, the *Expositio in Epistolam sancti Pauli ad Galatas*, was formatted according to the new chapter divisions, apparently between 1230 and 1235.<sup>62</sup> Notably its formatting evinced an alternate English point for commencing chapter five, not current in Parisian Bibles.<sup>63</sup>

#### PARISIAN USE OF MODERN CHAPTERS AFTER LANGTON

Rolandus of Cremona, who in 1219 was the first Dominican professor at Paris, neither evinced knowledge of the new system of chapter numbers nor referred to any other schema of numbered divisions.<sup>64</sup> Soon thereafter Dominicans including Hugh of Saint Cher and Guerric of Saint Quentin, who both arrived in Paris in 1225, and the Franciscan Jean of la Rochelle made consistent use of the new system, as did the Dominican Jordan of Saxony in sermons delivered in England in 1229.<sup>65</sup> In a contemporary copy

<sup>60</sup> In his *Sermones* and *Summa de arte praedicandi*; see Thomas Kaepelli, "Un Recueil de sermons prêchés à Paris et en Angleterre conservé dans le manuscrit de Canterbury Cathedr. Libr. D.7 (Jourdain de Saxe, O.P., Thomas de Chobham, etc.)", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 26 (1956), 161–91; Franco Morenzoni, ed., *Thomas de Chobham: Summa de arte praedicandi*, CCCM 82 (Turnhout, 1988).

<sup>61</sup> Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 66–67n and 239–40; Joseph Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, eds. *Templum Dei Robert Grosseteste* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 4–5 and 36. The text is published from a manuscript of the mid-thirteenth century.

<sup>62</sup> Eds. McEvoy and Rizzerio (see above note 25).

<sup>63</sup> At 5.2, the division linked to Langton by Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 168. A similar characteristically English point of chapter division found in Magdalen 168 is found in Thomas Gallus' Commentary on the Song of Songs; see Jeanne Barbet, *Abbas Vercellensis: Le Commentaire du Cantique des Cantiques "Deiformis animae gemitus". Etude d'authenticité et édition critique* (Paris, 1972) p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> Aloys Cortesi, ed., *Summae Magistri Rolandi Cremonensis O.P. liber tercius* (Bergamo, 1962), pp. vi–vii.

<sup>65</sup> See BnF, MS lat. 15603 where their biblical commentaries were written on the first ruled line, probably soon after 1225, the date when both Hugh of Saint Cher and Guerric de Saint-Quentin entered the Dominican convent of Saint Jacques. On Jordan of Saxony, see A. G. Little and Decima Douie, "Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the Successor of St. Dominic, Preached in England, A.D. 1229", *The English Historical Review* 54 (1939), 1–19. Guerric de Saint Quentin made regular references to the modern chapter divisions in his

of Hugh's *Postilla* on Isaiah in BnF lat. 14417 from Saint Victor, this text, which contains numerous references to modern chapter numbers, evinced an ongoing reformatting to conform to these divisions. Hugh, who was already a doctor of Canon Law when he became a friar, may well have been attracted to citing the new divisions because he, like Robert of Courçon, had become habituated to citing legal texts by their standard numbered divisions. Hugh's citations in BnF lat. 14417 conform closely to the norms later embraced by the stationers of Paris.<sup>66</sup>

Secular Parisian clerics after Langton, in contrast, eschewed the new system or embraced it tardily. The chancellor of the University, Praepositinus of Cremona († after 1210), and Godefroy of Poitiers († after 1231) did not use the new system.<sup>67</sup> Jacques de Vitry (†1240), who admired Courçon, never referred to the modern divisions.<sup>68</sup> Philip the Chancellor (†1236) evinced use of them only towards the end of his life.<sup>69</sup> In Guillaume of Auxerre's (†1231) *Summa Aurea* modern chapter citations were only erratically present, and these were omitted in some manuscripts, an indication that they were not originally present.<sup>70</sup> In the *Quaestio de incarnatione*

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*Quaestiones de quolibet*, eds. Walter H. Principe, Jonathan Black and Jean-Pierre Torrell (Toronto, 2002).

<sup>66</sup> See also BnF, MS lat. 15603 and Douai, BM, MS 434, containing Hugh's *De prophetia*, ed. Jean-Pierre Torrell (Louvain, 1977); see below in note 69.

<sup>67</sup> For Praepositinus, see James A. Corbett, ed., *Tractatus de officiis* (Notre Dame, 1969) and James N. Garvin and James A. Corbett, eds., *The Summa Contra Haereticos Ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona* (Notre Dame, 1958), p. xix. For Godefroy, see BnF, MS lat. 3143.

<sup>68</sup> See the modern editions of his sermons, histories and letters, Goswein Franken, *Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry* (Munich, 1914); Joseph Greven, *Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry* (Heidelberg, 1914); Carolyn Muessig, *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry* (Toronto, 1999); John Frederick Hinnebusch, *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry* (Fribourg, 1972); R. B. C. Huygens, *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (Leiden, 1960). François Moschus added modern chapter numbers in the margins of his 1597 Douai edition of the *Historia occidentalis* (reprinted Farnborough, 1971). Schneyer records no sermon themes in sermons by Jacques de Vitry with an identification of both book and chapter; Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350* (B.G.P.T.M., Bd. 43; Münster, 1969–1990) 3 (1971), pp. 179–221.

<sup>69</sup> Nikolaus Wicki, *Philippi Cancellari Parisiensis Summa de bono* (Bern, 1985), I, 44\*, e.g. BnF, MS lat. 3146; cf. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones* 4 (1972), p. 833, no. 12. Philip's sermons do not generally contain references to book and chapter; see J.B. Schneyer, *Die Sittenkritik in den Predigten Philipps des Kanzlers*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 39, pt. 4 (Münster, 1962), pp. 92, 94 and passim. In contrast, reference to modern chapter numbers are present in the only extant manuscript of Philip's *Quaestiones de incarnatione*, Douai, BM, MS 434, copied between 1228 and 1236; see Walter H. Principe, *Philip the Chancellor's Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 152, 158, 159 and 162.

<sup>70</sup> *Summa aurea*, ed. J. Ribailier (Paris, 1980–1987). The process of inserting references into his *opera* seems to have been ongoing in the years before his death when his magnum opus was published.

and the *Quaestio de statu Christi in triduo*, disseminated separately before their incorporation into the *Summa*, there were no references to chapter numbers.<sup>71</sup>

#### LATE TWELFTH-CENTURY BIBLES WITH MODERN CHAPTER DIVISION

An examination of English monastic Bibles from the last decades of the twelfth century suggests the likely explanation of why English scholars, including Langton, were prominent among early users of modern chapter division. Although I too once credited Stephen Langton with the paternity of modern chaptering,<sup>72</sup> in 2002 I discovered Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, the earliest of seven twelfth-century Latin Vulgate Bibles (five complete Bibles, or portions therefrom, and two New Testaments) that all contain modern chapter numbers dating from the late twelfth century or about 1200. Of these, five originated from the royal abbey of Saint Albans (twenty-five miles northwest of London) where they were produced under Abbots Simon and Warin, after ca. 1180.

A single Bible, that of Stephen Harding, with modern chapter divisions (evinced unique variants) originated from Cîteaux in Burgundy; here scholars are in agreement that the new numbers were added before 1200.<sup>73</sup> At Cîteaux only after ca. 1220, was the new system in a Bible (with a great many of the same non-Parisian variations in chapter divisions) identified with Langton, here referred to as archbishop.<sup>74</sup> Three Bibles with very early modern chapter divisions (with English variants) added in the margins originated or were brought at an early date to the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris, an abbey which had well documented ties to Saint Albans under Abbot Simon and where a decade and a half later Thomas Gallus

<sup>71</sup> Principe, *William of Auxerre's Theology of the Hypostatic Union*; cf. *Summa Aurea*, Liber tercius, pp. 110–49 and 104–112. To judge from its incipit in BnF, MSS lat. 14145 and lat. 15168, a similar process of insertion of chapter number references occurred in Guillaume's *Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis*, see R. M. Martineau, "La *Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis* de Guillaume d'Auxerre", *Etude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale* 2 (1932), 25–58, at 35–36.

<sup>72</sup> Saenger, "The British Isles", p. 82.

<sup>73</sup> Dijon, BM, MSS 12–15; see Paul Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah", p. 136.

<sup>74</sup> See the inscription "Capitola que fiunt de incaustro sunt secundum dominum Cantuariensium" in Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 6679, on the first leaf of Genesis in the outer margin. This inscription dates from soon after the transcription of the biblical text. I am indebted to Professor Paul Binski for bringing this manuscript to my attention and to Dr. Patrick Zutshi for providing me with the transcription and confirmation of its date.

composed his biblical concordance and commentaries that all cited the new chapter numbers.<sup>75</sup> In the mid-twelfth century Saint Victor had two English abbots and numerous English canons.<sup>76</sup> At Saint Victor, as we have seen, the new system of biblical chapters came to be identified with Archbishop Langton only ca. 1230.<sup>77</sup>

Of all these biblical codices, the earliest with modern chapter divisions appears to be Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, which contains the Old and New Testament, copied ca. 1180 at Saint Albans under Abbot Simon (1167–1183).<sup>78</sup> The modern numbering is in orange-red Roman numerals (which in part supplanted a carefully erased initial incomplete numeration). These numbers are contemporary or virtually contemporary with the transcription of the text.<sup>79</sup> Indeed none of the numerous scholars of this much studied Bible, has ever noted a discrepancy between the date of the text and the date of the chapter numbers [fig. 2.4].<sup>80</sup> In this codex as in the four other twelfth-century Bibles from Saint Albans, which as a group are interrelated by textual variants, paleography and decoration, the chapter numbers were placed in the margins, which was the usual practice for all biblical chapter numbering in England at the end of the twelfth century at a time when a variety of numbering systems had begun to supplant those that devolved from the Alcuinic system that had been normative for English Bibles through the early twelfth century.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> On ties linking Saint Albans to Saint Victor, Richard W. Hunt, "The Library of the Abbey of Saint Albans" in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, eds. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 251–81, at p. 253; Rodney M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey 1066–1235* (Totowa, NJ, 1982), pp. 54 and 64–66.

<sup>76</sup> Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de St. Victor de Paris* (Paris, 1905–1907), 1:55, 116–17, 127, 129, 155–58, 194, 197–98, 203, 209, 213–15 and passim.

<sup>77</sup> On the manuscript discovered by Paulin Martin, BnF, MS lat. 14417, see above p. 40.

<sup>78</sup> For the assignment of date and origin as well as bibliography, see Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Albans Abbey*, pp. 32, 54, 62, 66, 81–82 and passim; Walter Cahn, "Saint Albans and the Channel Style in England" in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, ed. François Avril et al. (New York, 1975), pp. 187–211 (at 192–94); idem, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 259–60; C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London, 1975), p. 115. In 1926, Eric G. Millar had dated it only slightly later, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Centuries* (Paris and Brussels, 1926), pp. 40–41.

<sup>79</sup> For the major prophets, the new numbering was the only numbering ever present.

<sup>80</sup> Personal communication of Christopher de Hamel.

<sup>81</sup> The other Saint Albans Bibles are: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 51 (A.2.2); Windsor, Eton College, MS 26; Bodl., MS Finch e.25; and Cambridge, Saint Johns College, MS 183 (G.15), in which the modern numbering may date ca. 1210. These four codices are linked by a number of textual elements that include the explicit attribution of New Testament

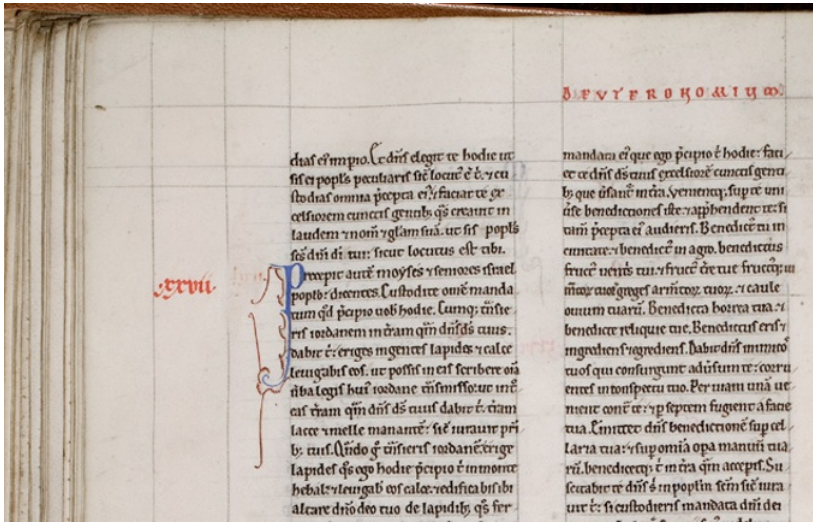


Figure 2.4 . Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, fol. 45v.

In all the earliest manuscripts with modern chapter divisions, whether from England, Cîteaux or Paris, the formatting of the biblical text remained that of older systems of numbered division. On the Continent this format in most instances devolved (with a myriad of minor and major mutations) from that initially employed and possibly invented by Abbot Maurdramnus of Corbie (773–781) and which was soon thereafter adopted by Alcuin for the luxurious biblical manuscripts prepared at Tours for the court of Charlemagne.<sup>82</sup> In its pure form this Alcuinic system was used for the original numbering in the early twelfth century for the Bible of Stephen Harding, the English founder of Cîteaux.

prologues to Pelagius, the presence of capitula tables for the entire Bible placed prior to the biblical texts, the presence of the apocryphal Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, and the presence of both versions of the moralization of the names of the Hebrew letters adjacent to the acrostic verses of Lamentations 1–4; see Thomson, *Manuscripts from Saint Albans Abbey*, p. 62; Alexander Souter, *Pelagius's Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul* (Cambridge, 1922–31), pp. 243–44; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (reprint of the corrected edition of 1953; Oxford, 1983), p. 478. On the moralization of the names of the Hebrew letters, see Cahn, “Saint Albans and the Channel Style”, pp. 193 and 205, note 43 and Saenger, “Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah”, p. 135. These moralizations also occur in the Eadwine Psalter, see Richard W. Pfaff in Gibson et al., *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>82</sup> See David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte zu Francia 20 (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 45–46 and 132–33; Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate* (Rome, 1922), pp. 264–65; Donatien de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1914), p. 426 ff.

In Paris, the earliest modern chapter numbers (the only numbers ever present) were added apparently ca. 1200 in the margins to Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 47, which Patricia Stirnemann has informed me is the second portion of a three-volume Bible copied at the Abbey of Saint Victor early in the final third of the twelfth century. The scribes responsible for the modern numbers often indicated alternative points for chapter division that form part of the tradition of English variants.<sup>83</sup> All portions of this Bible were formatted for the older Alcuinic modes of chaptering, but significantly, the apposite numbers were never inserted into the blank spaces dedicated to receive them. The modern numbers placed in the margins of Mazarine MS 47 were mostly Roman numerals, but they also included early Arabic numbers including the right angle form for *two*, which as we shall see, was a characteristically English sign for that number.<sup>84</sup> As a group, for both the Old and New Testaments, the earliest manuscripts with modern numbers (as well as the ca. 1230 list of chapter incipits attributed to Archbishop Langton in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 168) did not respect the order of books found in the Saint Victor list of biblical incipits, an order which became conventional in Bibles copied by the stationers of the University of Paris after ca. 1230 and which modern scholars have sometimes attributed, without cause, to Langton.<sup>85</sup>

#### THE ORIENTAL ORIGIN OF THE NEW DIVISIONS

In recent articles, I have postulated that the modern biblical chapter divisions for the five books of Moses were based in large measure on the Hebrew *sederim* (to which they correspond about 64% of the time for the entire Pentateuch and 70% for the book of Leviticus).<sup>86</sup> The *sederim* were

<sup>83</sup> According to a personal communication, the first volume of this Bible is BnF, MS lat. 14395; the third volume is BnF, MS lat. 14396. The Gospels and Psalter are wanting and perhaps were never present.

<sup>84</sup> See 2 Chronicles 34, Job 3, 5 and 6, Proverbs 30 and 31, Ecclesiastes 10, Isaiah 4, 24 [fig. 2.8], 26, 46.

<sup>85</sup> Raymonde Foreville, "Etienne Langton", *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 4, pt. 2 (1961), col. 1497; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 304.

<sup>86</sup> Saenger and Bruck, "Anglo-Hebraic Origins", pp. 197–98, 201–02; and Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah", pp. 131–33, 139–40. Hugh of Saint Cher explicitly referred to the antecedent of the Jewish sectioning of biblical text in his *Postilla* on Jerome's prologue to Isaiah after the phrase "Novo scribendi genere distinximus"; cf. Langton's

the liturgical divisions, according to Palestinian tradition of Sabbath readings observed in the East, notably Yemen and elsewhere in the Islamic sphere.<sup>87</sup> These Hebrew numbers (always placed in the margin) disappeared from most medieval Hebrew Bibles in Western Europe copied after 1200, but they were frequently retained in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Hebrew Bibles copied in Spain even though the divisions they denoted were no longer used liturgically.<sup>88</sup> Sephardic Jews, among them Petrus Alfonsi and Abraham ibn Ezra, were prominent among the scholars who brought Arabic and Hebraic learning to the court of Henry II, and any of them could easily have carried to Britain a three-column Hebrew Bible of the Sephardic tradition with the numbered *sederim* marked in the margins or with the list of their incipits that frequently formed part of the Massorah.<sup>89</sup> Such incipit lists for fixed biblical division had been unknown to the Latin West until they emerged in England in the late twelfth century at the cathedral monastery of Worcester and soon thereafter at Saint Albans, but since late antiquity, lists of *sederim* incipits had formed an integral part of rabbinic learning.<sup>90</sup> Concurrently at Worcester (by Senatus of Worcester) and at Saint Albans (in a ca. 1180 copy of Rupert of Deutz's *De divinis officiis*), we encounter the earliest Latin manuscripts to use standardized chapter division (the Eusebian sections) as a basis for biblical citation antedating any surviving Parisian

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*Commentary* on the prologue to Joshua, above p. 44. I have not yet had the opportunity to examine Langton's *Postilla in Isaiam* on this passage.

<sup>87</sup> Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), p. 32.

<sup>88</sup> Michèle Dukan, *La Bible hébraïque: Les Codices copiés en Orient et dans la zone séfarde avant 1280*, *Bibliologia* 22 (Turnhout, 2006), p. 107.

<sup>89</sup> For the presence of Sephardic Jews in England, see Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*, 1996 Panizzi Lecture (London, 1997), pp. 59–60; d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators", pp. 443–44.

<sup>90</sup> The earliest one that I have found to date is for the Eusebian sections, apparently intended as an authorial appendix to the *Epistula or tractatus de concordia et dispositione canonum evangeliorum* composed by Senatus of Worcester, present in Cambridge, *Corpus Christi*, MS 48, see Saenger and Bruck, "Anglo-Hebraic Origins", pp. 196–97; and Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah", p. 137. The table, possibly based on the now lost Bible of King Offa of 780, is also present in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 16794, but is omitted in the edition of C. H. Turner, *Early Worcester MSS* (Oxford, 1916), pp. xliii–li. The letter dates from before 1186, when Senatus was librarian of Worcester Cathedral and Abbey, see Cahn, "Saint Albans and the Channel Style", p. 192–93. As Turner's observation on the number of Eusebian divisions of Mark implies, these divisions at the time of Senatus varied slightly from codex to codex; see Turner, *Early Worcester*, p. xlv. Attempts to emendate in order to

manuscripts containing citations of numbered biblical chapters according to any system.<sup>91</sup>

Like the Sephardic Jewish Bibles with *sederim* divisions, Corpus 48 and Eton College, MS 26 (another Saint Albans Bible with modern numbers) were written in three columns, the traditional format for larger Jewish Bibles of the early Middle Ages in the Islamic world and in Spain but, apart from Saint Albans, unknown for the Latin Vulgate in the Middle Ages.<sup>92</sup> The three-column format created a verisimilitude of an unrolled portion of a Torah scroll when read from aloud in a synagogue, where rabbinical law required a minimum of three columns to be exposed at the lectern.<sup>93</sup> The only extant Hebrew Bible known to be copied in England in the twelfth century was indeed formatted in three columns (written below the rule), but in it the *sederim* were not marked.<sup>94</sup>

I have postulated elsewhere that Corpus 48, the Saint Albans Bible copied under Abbot Simon, drew inspiration from a graphic emulation of a three-column Hebrew codex. This assertion is confirmed by the presence of an exquisitely written Hebrew alphabet (written in the margin of the first leaf containing the acrostic verses of Lamentations) in a script that a noted Hebrew paleographer has judged likely to be Sephardic [fig. 2.5].<sup>95</sup>

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standardize these divisions in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Bibles occur at Cîteaux and in England.

<sup>91</sup> For Saint Albans, see the marginalia of Oxford, Christ Church, MS 97 where the scribe identifies Rupert of Deutz's citations by referring to the standard Eusebian section numbers; see Thomson, *Manuscripts from Saint Albans*, p. 111. At Worcester, Senatus referred to the same section numbers in his *Epistula* (see previous note). In 1266–1267, Roger Bacon refers to the Eusebian divisions, see Light, “Roger Bacon”, p. 497. In Paris, Peter Comestor (or one of his student secretaries) explicitly rejected this mode of citation, BnF, MS lat. 15269, fol. 2r, cited by Landgraf, “Die Schriftzitate”, p. 77, note 1, see also Smalley, *Study*, p. 222.

<sup>92</sup> See Dukan, *Bible hébraïque*, pp. 205–07. Although very rare, the three column format persisted in the north, see O. Hahn, “The Erfurt Hebrew Giant Bible and the Experimental XRF Analysis of Ink and Plummet Composition”, *Bulletin du livre medieval* 57 (2007), 16–29, at 16.

<sup>93</sup> See Israel Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Massorah*, trans. E.J. Revell (s.l., 1980), p. 48; Saenger and Bruck, “Anglo-Hebraic Origins”, 190, 200–01 and 202; Saenger, “Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah”, 136.

<sup>94</sup> London, Valmadonna Trust MS 1; Malachi Beit-Arie, *The Only Dated Medieval Manuscript Written in England (1189 CE) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts* (London, 1985); second edition in Beit-Arie, *The Makings of the Medieval Book: Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 129–51. I am indebted to Dr. Joshua Lipton for permitting me to examine the manuscript, property of the Trust, when it was in New York, and to Professor David Kramer for assisting me in its examination.

<sup>95</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Ben Outhwaite, Head of the Genizah Research Unit of Cambridge University Library, for kindly examining this page and to Christopher de Hamel for permitting him to do so.





Figure 2.5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. MS 48, fol. 121r.

### THE INTERPRETATIONS OF HEBREW NAMES

The influence of Hebrew antecedents at Saint Albans is confirmed as well by the presence at the end of the volume of a nine-leaf five-column glossary of Hebrew names, which is the earliest known antecedent to the Interpretations of Hebrew Names that was regularly appended to portable Bibles copied in Paris after 1234.<sup>96</sup> Such glossaries, like modern chapter division, were in the mid-thirteenth century attributed to Stephen Langton, but their multi-column format suggests an attempt on the part of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century scribes in England to create for the casual reader a verisimilitude to the openings of a Hebrew biblical codex

<sup>96</sup> On these glossaries, see Eyal Poleg's essay in this volume.

or a three-column Hebrew glossary like Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oriental MS 135.<sup>97</sup> BL, MS Additional 15452, likely copied in England ca. 1220, was one of the earliest Latin Vulgate Bibles after Corpus 48 to contain the glossary of Hebrew names as an appendix. Its Bible text proper was written in two columns with the script resting on the top ruled line, but the text of the glossary was written in four columns with the first line copied below the top line, a practice which might well be explicable as an attempt to create a verisimilitude to Hebrew scribal practice.<sup>98</sup> In Paris, where transliteration trumped transcription, university stationers with rare exceptions copied glossaries of Hebrew names in the same two-column format regularly used for the Bible's text. English Bibles, however, were in the course of the thirteenth century far more prone to favor the three-column or other multi-column format and thereby to preserve a verisimilitude to the Hebraic practice.

#### THE ARABIC AND GREEK RECEPTION AT SAINT ALBANS

Apart from Hebrew, the abbey of Saint Albans under Abbot Simon and his successors also bore witness to the reception from the East of Greek and Arabic learning.<sup>99</sup> The elaborate Genesis initial of Cambridge, Corpus 48, which shows Moses receiving a Torah scroll (and not a codex) from the hands of the Lord, incorporated the Greek word *hule* in Latin transliteration, a neologism in the context of twelfth-century Latin, to describe primal matter prior to the Creation [fig. 2.6].<sup>100</sup> Abbot Warin (1183–1195),

<sup>97</sup> Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Christian Hebraism in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Hebrew Latin Manuscripts" in *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures*, eds. Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt (Oxford, 2009), pp. 115–22, at pp. 120–21.

<sup>98</sup> On BL, MS Add. 15452, see T. S. R. Boase, *English Art: 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), p. 285 and Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions", p. 137. Some art historians have suggested an origin in northeastern France, but the presence of a duplex psalter, a table of the incipits of Eusebian sections related to that of Senatus, and variants in the chapter division indicate England.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 310–11 and 502–03.

<sup>100</sup> Alexander Neckham used the term; see Richard William Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1219)*, ed. and revised by Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1984), pp. 72–73. Daniel of Morley also used the term; see Charles Singer, "Daniel Morley: An English Philosopher of the Twelfth Century", *Isis* 3 (1920), 263–69, at pp. 267–68. On the Torah as scroll in Christian iconography, see Saenger, "Jewish Liturgical Divisions of the Torah", 136.



Figure 2.6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48, fol. 7v.

Simon's successor, according to the abbey's chronicles had himself studied the learning of the East at Salerno (as had his brother Matthew), and it was Warin who invited Alexander Neckham (born in the town of Saint Albans and occasionally referred to as Alexander of Saint Albans) to direct the abbey's school. Alexander knew Hebrew better than Greek and was familiar with Latin translations of the new Arabic learning received from the East.<sup>101</sup> The new Arabic learning current at Saint Albans is reflected in transliteration in the content of Bodl., MSS Selden supra 24 and Laud Lat. 67, two schoolbooks originating from the abbey which date from this period.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*, pp. 67 and 108–10.

<sup>102</sup> Thomson, *Manuscripts from Saint Albans*, pp. 64–104 and 110–11; Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England* (London, 1997), pp. 68–69 and 71–72.

## ARABIC NUMBERS AND THE NEW CHAPTER DIVISIONS

From an early date, there existed a link between Arabic numbers and the new chapter divisions. Bodl., MS Finch e.25, a New Testament copied at Saint Albans likely soon after 1180, was virtually contemporary to Corpus 48.<sup>103</sup> Its modern chapter divisions present in all Four Gospels, Acts and Revelations were denoted, except for the Gospel of Mark, by the contemporary addition of Arabic numbers in the early forms that originated in England during the final third of the twelfth century in treatises on algorisms, geometry and astronomy. Minor variations in the points of chapter division present in Finch e.25 in the Gospels as well as in Acts and Revelations were subsequently unique or particularly uncommon in English Bibles, and until now they have not been detected in Bibles of Parisian origin.<sup>104</sup>

The “new Arabic” forms, found in Finch e.25, were in part inspired by direct contact with Muslim scholars and Islamic scientific codices. But they also drew upon the unique traditions of Insular graphic symbols. In particular, the right angular or “gnomen” form for the number two, present in Finch e.25, was an “Arabic” numerical symbol that appears to have been entirely of Insular confection, i.e. one for which no antecedent existed in the Byzantine or Arabic East [fig. 2.7 and plate II]. This form occurs for the first time in an English stenographic text from the time of Thomas Becket where it served to represent the alphabetical letter ‘b,’ which in Insular liturgical calendars since the eighth century had had the numerical value of two. The angular form of the number two was frequent among the numerical signs that emerged in the final third of the twelfth century in scientific

<sup>103</sup> Thomson, *Manuscripts from Saint Albans*, pp. 32, 54, 60, 61, 63 and 104.

<sup>104</sup> These included variant incipits of Matthew chapter 8 (at 7.28), 16 (at 16.2) and 20 (at 19.30), Mark 2 (at 1.29) and 16 (at 15.47), Luke 12 (at 11.53), 15 (at 14.34), 17 (at 17.1b), John 11 (at 11.2), 16 (at 15.26) 17 (at 16.32), Acts 26 (at 26.1b) and 27 (at 27.2) and Revelations 5 (at 5.2). It is interesting to compare these variants to the chapter division of BnF, MS lat. 16747 from the library of the Sorbonne, copied in Paris ca. 1210–1215, which is very close to the division adopted by the university stationers in Paris ca. 1230. Lat. 16747 uses red for both old and new numbers (the latter distinguished by a paraph sign). Arabic numbers in the ink of the text occur in Exodus to denote chapters 5, 6, 7 and 17, 18 and 19 as well as in the Psalter; the *zed* is the sole form of the number two. On the date of lat. 16747, cf. François Avril, “Un manuscrit d’auteurs classiques et ses illustrations” in *The Year 1200*, pp. 261–70, at p. 268, no. 3; Laura Light, “French Bibles c. 1200–1230: A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible” in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155–176, at p. 174, no. 3. My knowledge of English variant divisions in the New Testament is indebted to Newberry Intern Kayla Durcholz who is collaborating with me in editing Langton’s hitherto unpublished list of Bible chapter incipits contained in Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 168.



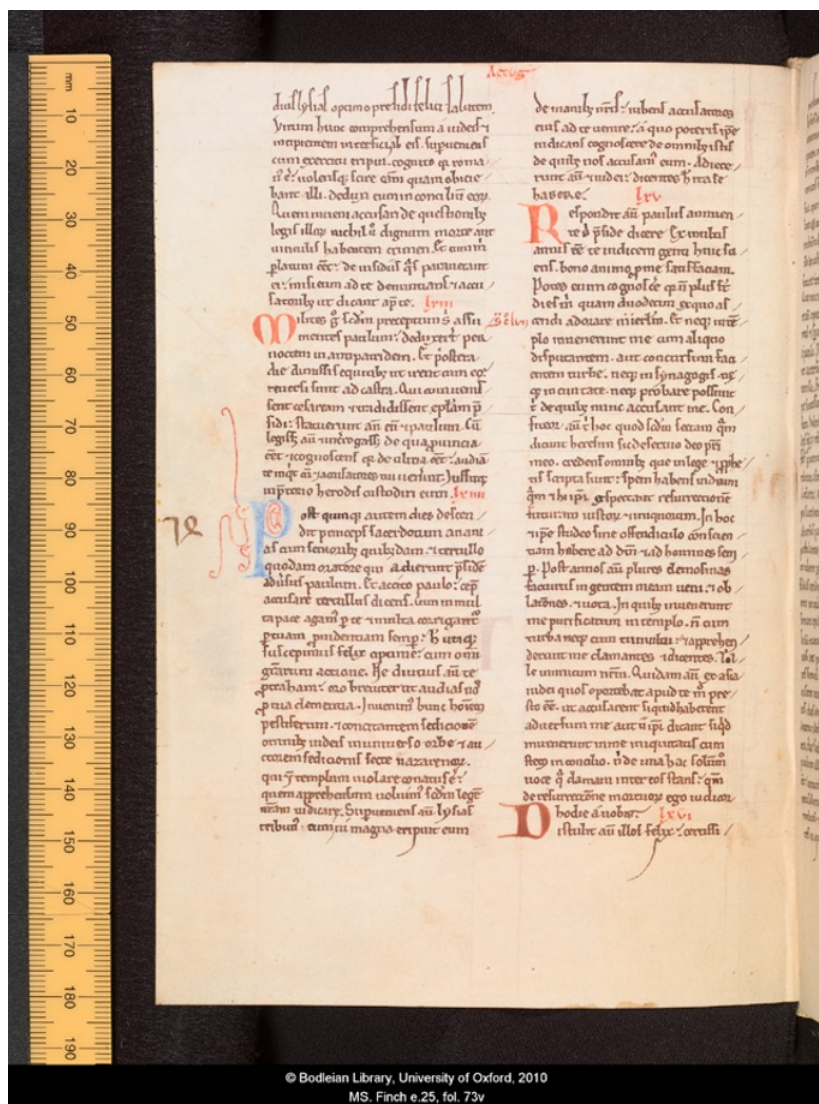


Figure 2.7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Finch e.25, fol. 73v.

and mathematical tracts inspired by Arabic learning in the circle of Adelard of Bath and Roger of Hereford in southern England [cf. fig. 2.8].<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> This right-angular form, apart from a few instances from the abbey of Saint Victor (see below) is uniquely English. It has rarely been discussed. Charles Burnett mentions it as the “gnomen shape” in a thirteenth-century context, but the form is well documented in

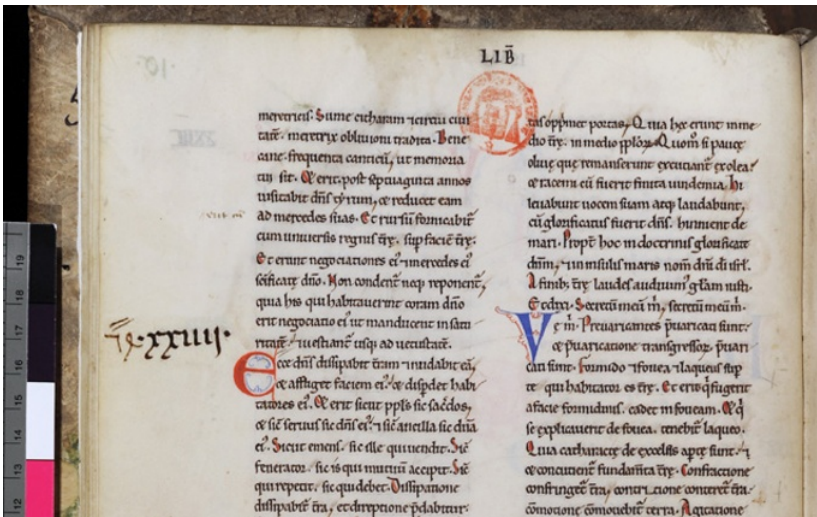


Figure 2.8. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 47, fol. 10v.

However, within the broadly defined Adelard corpus of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts containing writings translated from Arabic or inspired by Arabic originals, the use of Arabic numbers rather than Roman numerals for numbering either chapters or analogous text segments remained relatively rare.<sup>106</sup> There also exist rare examples of the

England before 1200; Charles Burnett, “Why We Read Arabic Numerals Backward” in *Ancient and Medieval Traditions in the Exact Sciences: Essays in Memory of William Knorr*, eds. P. Suppes, J.M. Moravcsik and H. Mendell (Stanford, 2000), pp. 197–202, at p. 201. The origin of this symbol would seem to be entirely Insular, see Guy Beaujouan, “Les Soixante chiffres grecs ou chaldéens (XII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)”, *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 3 (1950), 170–74; Christian Johnen, *Geschichte der Stenographie* (Berlin, 1911), 1:252. The symbol was first used for the letter b (which in the numbering of liturgical calendars had the value of two) at the time of Henry II by John of Tilbury; see David A. King, *The Cyphers of the Monks: A Forgotten Number Notation of the Middle Ages* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 66–70 and 82–83. Arabic numbers and the English notation comingled in Lambeth Palace, MS 499, an English Cistercian codex of the thirteenth century. Bernard Bischoff detected no Eastern origin to the English symbols of numerical notation, B. Bischoff, “Die sogenannten ‘griechischen’ und ‘chaldäischen’ Zahlzeichen der abendländischen Mittelalters” in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* (Stuttgart, 1966), 1:67–73. Charles Burnett, “Mathematics and Astronomy in Hereford and Its Region in the Twelfth Century” in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead (Leeds, 1995), pp. 50–59.

<sup>106</sup> In the case, Coptic (i.e. Greek) numbers had been used in medieval texts for numbering pages and quires, see King, *Cyphers of the Monks*, p. 73. Before the twelfth century the Arabic number symbols of the abacus had at least in one instance been used for numbering quires in BAV, MS reg. lat. 1308. “Scientific” texts with Arabic chapter and segment

use of Arabic forms including the angular sign for two in English theological manuscripts to enumerate textual divisions and columns.<sup>107</sup>

In Bibles, the use of Arabic numbers, often including the angular form of two, to number chapters became a common and virtually exclusively English trait.<sup>108</sup> The chapter divisions of Mazarine 5, the first datable codex to be originally equipped with modern chapter divisions, were denoted with Arabic numbers with an alternative sign for two, resembling a question mark that is probably of English origin [fig. 2.9 and plate III]. The same form of two was present in two early Bibles from Saint Victor.<sup>109</sup> Robert Grosseteste used Arabic numbers including the angular form for two exclusively in his autograph marginal references to biblical chapters, and similar numbers present in Lyon, BM, MS 414, the English Bible dating from the early 1230s that can be associated with Grosseteste because it contains the only copy of his *Tabula* or Concordance.<sup>110</sup> Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 8, an early thirteenth-century Latin/Hebrew diglot copy of the Major and Minor Prophets epitomizes the Oriental reception that transformed the *mise-en-page* of the Bible in England. In it the modern chapter numbers are marked with Arabic numbers (including the

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numbers include two discrete elements of BnF, MS lat. 16201 and Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.12.61. In the last instance Arabic numbers are used only in the beginning sections of the second version of the Latin translation of Euclid from the Arabic, a text of English origin. The alternative English form of the number two resembling a question mark (later found in Mazarine 5) is present.

<sup>107</sup> Earlier twelfth-century examples of the use of Arabics including the angular two for numbering columns exist at the Cathedral School of Worcester, for example Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.51 (see Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* [Rochester, N.Y., 2001], pp. 150–51) and Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.50 in which the columns were numbered ca. 1200; E. Rathbone, “Peter of Corbeil in an English Setting”, *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 287–306, at pp. 296–97. In Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 134, similar Arabic numbers were used in the text written after 1179 to enumerate the *consilia* sections; see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 281–85 who dates the Arabic numbers of the table to the thirteenth century. While the table numbers may be a little later than those in the body of the text, I would place both sets of numbers in the twelfth century.

<sup>108</sup> See for example Oxford, Merton College, MS 7 (mid-thirteenth century), Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS 1560 (fourteenth century), and Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.2.23, a Carthusian thirteenth-century Bible where the right angular form was used in the lists of capitula.

<sup>109</sup> Paris, BnF, MSS lat. 14233 and lat. 14232.

<sup>110</sup> Philipp W. Rosemann, ed. in Robert Grosseteste, *Opera*, ed. James McEvoy, CCCM 130 (Turnholt, 1995), pp. 233–320. The chapter rubrics of this Bible identify the new divisions with Stephen Langton; the chapter incipits include numerous English variants.

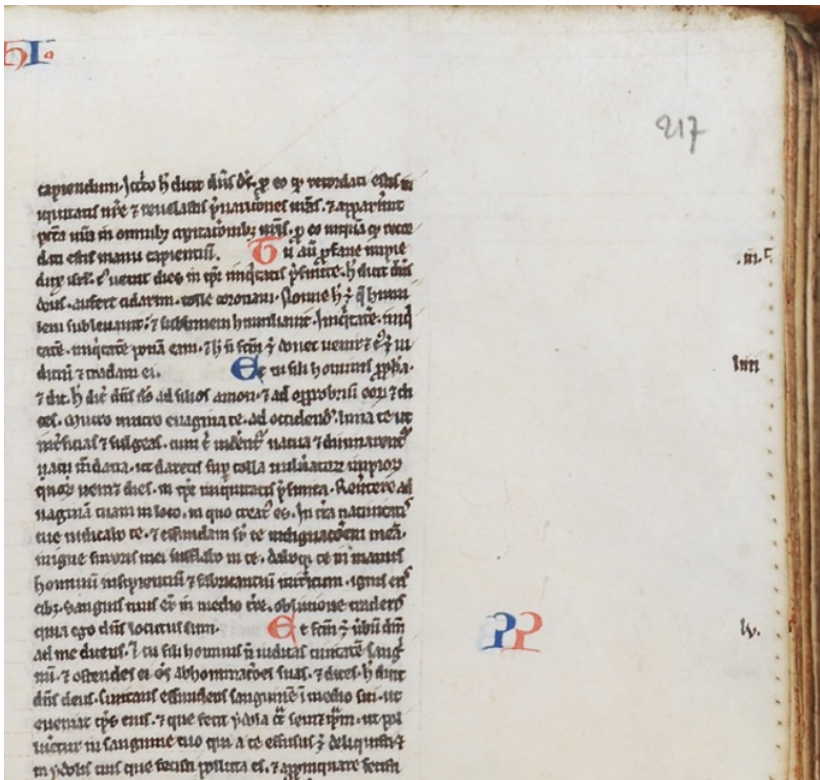


Figure 2.9. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 5, fol. 217r.

angular form of the number two) and the Hebrew text (but not the Latin) is written below the first ruled line.<sup>111</sup>

It was in Bibles at Saint Albans and Bibles prepared under English influence at Saint Victor in Paris that the use of the new Arabic numerals came to play a truly significant paratextual role. In a biblical context (within the Insular textual community) Arabic numbers effectively disambiguated the page by distinguishing numbers for the new chapter divisions from numbers denoting older schemes. In English Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth century Arabic numbers almost always denoted the modern chapter division, and Roman numerals were used to mark the older and less standardized distinctions.

<sup>111</sup> Olszowy-Schlanger, *Manuscripts hébreux*, pp. 152–56 (with plate).



In Paris, the use of Arabic numbers in Bibles was rare and the angular form of *two* was known only at Saint Victor's. In contrast to England, in France the *zed* form of two, resembling the Greek letter *zeta*, became ubiquitous in scientific manuscripts after about 1210. It emerges in the series of datable marginalia present in BnF, MS lat. 16208, an Italian codex brought to France, and it was the only form of the Arabic number two in the Parisian codex of Ptolemy, copied from a Saint Victor exemplar in 1213.<sup>112</sup> In about 1210, the question mark form was still used in a glossed Bible from the chancellery of the University to denote a non-modern set of chapter divisions.<sup>113</sup> A variation of the *zed* form was also used ca. 1215 in BnF, MS lat. 16267, an abbreviated liturgical Bible of Parisian provenance and possibly Parisian origin, copied ca. 1215. In neither Bible did there exist a nexus between the use of Arabic numbers and the modern schema.<sup>114</sup> Instead in early (pre-1220) French Bibles (apart from Saint Victor) a visual distinction was made between old and new distinctions by the use of color (black ink in the Bible of Stephen Harding) and paraph signs of varying shapes (BnF, MSS lat. 11537 and 16747). After 1220, dicolored Roman numerals in which the letters forming the numbers were written alternately in either red or blue rapidly became standard for the modern chapter numbers of Parisian Bibles; red was reserved for the Alcuin numbers on the rare occasions (as in BnF, MS lat. 36) when they were still present.

Dicolored numbers were also common in England in the thirteenth century. Indeed they appear to have evolved in England ca. 1215 as indicated in Mazarine MS 5 (from Canterbury) and Oxford, Oriel College, MS 77, both of which start with the red and transition to dicoloring (which in Mazarine 5 is employed for Arabic numbers). Red was reserved for the older numberings, which persisted far longer in England than in Paris. However, in England Arabic numbers continued frequently to be employed to denote the new chaptering (replete with variants first present at Saint Albans). In English Bibles from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century

<sup>112</sup> Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine* (1974), 3:513 and pl. XL. The exemplar was BnF, MS lat. 14738: see Danielle Jacquart, "Les Traductions de Gerard de Crémone: Quelques caractéristiques formelles" in *Les Traducteurs au travail, leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, ed. Jacqueline Hamasse (Brepols, 2001), pp. 207–20, at p. 216.

<sup>113</sup> BnF, MS lat. 17204.

<sup>114</sup> Arabic numbers were used for the older chapter divisions in Job and Acts. For a rare use of the English angular form of two by a mid-thirteenth-century French scholar in Paris, see Madeleine Mabilley, "Les Manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 132 (1974) 245–64 at 248.

Arabic numbers were also frequently used for column numbers, leaf numbers, line numbers and for verse numbers. The presence of Arabic numbers and of Hebrew and Greek in English medieval Bibles and grammars into the fifteenth century was an enduring witness to the powerful influence that Oriental languages had first imposed on the *mise-en-page* of the Vulgate Latin Bible three centuries earlier.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> See for examples of Greek and Hebrew, Edmond Nolan and S.A. Hirsch, *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar* (Cambridge, 1902).

## DURHAM'S PARIS BIBLE AND THE USE OF COMMUNAL BIBLES IN A BENEDICTINE CATHEDRAL PRIORY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Richard Gameson

One of the little-known treasures of Durham Cathedral Library is a fine thirteenth-century Bible, now MS A.II.3 (fig. 3.1).<sup>1</sup> The order of the biblical books, the choice of prologues, the system of chapter divisions,<sup>2</sup> the absence of capitula lists, and the inclusion of the Interpretation of Hebrew names all show it to be an example of the Paris Bible.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of the volume – its script, pen-work flourishing and, above all, art-work – point to an origin in Paris itself, and to a date in the second half of the century; one might more tentatively suggest the 1260s or 70s. In the first section of the present study we shall examine A.II.3 itself. In the second, we shall investigate the implications of the arrival of such a volume for the older Bibles in the collection of Durham Cathedral priory. Third and finally, we shall consider the general points concerning the use of Bibles in a late medieval Benedictine context that are raised by the material as a whole. We must begin, however, by summarising one of the key distinctions between Paris Bibles and their predecessors, as this will be central to some of the discussion that follows.

As is well known, the Paris Bible was the result of two phases of re-ordering and standardisation – one achieved around 1200, the other c. 1230 – which rationalised many of the paratextual features, an important advance given the variety that had characterised earlier copies.<sup>4</sup> Numerous

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Rud, *Codicum Manuscriptorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus Classicus* (Durham, 1825), pp. 13–14; Richard Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), no. 24, with col. ills. of fols. 2r (pp. 9 and 106), 176r, 299r, 340r, 375v, 384v+385r (pp. 164–5) and 409r (p. 173).

<sup>2</sup> With a few variations (e.g. the start of Mt 6 is actually marked at 6.5).

<sup>3</sup> For summary descriptions outlining the general characteristics of the type see Ker, *MMBL I: London* (Oxford, 1969), pp. vii–viii and 96–8; Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> Laura Light, “Versions et révisions du texte biblique” in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1984), pp. 55–93, esp. pp. 75–93; eadem, “French Bibles c. 1200–30: A New Look at the Origins of the Paris Bible” in *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155–76; also A. d’Esneval, “La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l’édition parisienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978), 559–68.



Figure 3.1. Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.3 (Paris Bible), fol. 2r (Jerome's Prefatory letter).

different systems of chapter division and numbering had hitherto been current for most biblical books – at least nine for Genesis, eight for Exodus, between seven and nine for the individual gospels, and so on. Moreover, these systems varied considerably in the number of divisions that they incorporated: those for Genesis, for instance, ranged from thirty-seven chapters up to 156, those for Matthew between twenty-eight and ninety-one, and those for the Apocalypse from seven to sixty-five.<sup>5</sup> To add to the variety, the system used to divide the text of a given book in a particular copy did not necessarily correspond to that of the capitula list at its head. Thus in the Gospel Book of Thorney Abbey, to take an example at random, Mark has a forty-seven-part chapter list, but its actual text is divided into thirteen sections; Luke has a seventy-eight-part chapter list, while in the text itself a twenty-one-fold system was used – only eleven sections of which were actually marked.<sup>6</sup> In such circumstances, standardisation offered obvious advantages. Energetically copied, the Paris Bible was the “publishing phenomenon” of the thirteenth century: accordingly its features were rapidly diffused. The currency and success of this “edition”, not to mention the longevity of its chapter divisions (which, adopted into printed editions, remain standard today) should not lead us to forget, however, that the actual biblical text thus promulgated was not a particularly good one.<sup>7</sup>

# I

Let us now examine Durham's magnificent Paris Bible, MS A.II.3. The text of the volume was copied with reasonable rather than scrupulous accuracy; however, it was carefully corrected as part of the original production process, and some fifty significant slips (involving at least a line, sometimes more)<sup>8</sup> were rectified at once. The art-work predictably comprises an historiated initial heading each biblical book, plus a decorated one for each new letter in the Glossary of Hebrew Names (figs. 1–6). The initial for Genesis was doubtless the grandest of them all – and it was presumably on

<sup>5</sup> Donatien de Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine* (Namur, 1914), *passim*. The various systems used in early Gospel Books are also conveniently tabulated in Patrick McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Paris, 1961), Appendix IV.

<sup>6</sup> BL, MS Add. 40,000.

<sup>7</sup> Raphael Lowe, “The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible II: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 102–54, esp. pp. 145–8; also Light, “Versions et révisions”, esp. 76–82.

<sup>8</sup> Approximately half of them were omissions resulting from eye-skip.

this account that it was (regrettably) excised at an uncertain date.<sup>9</sup> Typically for the genre, the vignettes are dominated by their figures, having minimal props and little or no “setting”; the designs are placed against “tiled” backgrounds in red or blue, either directly within the letter shape or (in the case of letters with an upright form<sup>10</sup>) under architectural canopies.

All the initials seem to have been drawn by a single artist, who invariably gave his figures inverted-pear-shaped heads with rapidly but deftly sketched faces. Characterised by high-set eyebrows, staring eyes and downward-turning mouths, the facial features can be very expressive. Thus at Exodus the Israelites look distinctly doubtful at the prospect of crossing the Red Sea (fig. 3.2 and plate IV); the eponymous heroine of Judith appears extremely determined as she decapitates Holofernes (fig. 3.3 and plate V); and as Hosea and Gomer embrace, he looks uncertain, while she seems coy and keen (fig. 3.4 and plate VI).<sup>11</sup> Now these expressions are all appropriate – underlining how unexpected and miraculous is the parting of the Red Sea, showing the heroism of Judith, and stressing the moral quandary of Hosea (who has been instructed by God to marry an adulterous woman). Such is by no means always the case, however. At the book of Joshua (fol. 68v) by contrast, although in the text it is God who exhorts the eponymous subject (at length), the depiction suggests rather that the latter is addressing the former; the initial for 3 Kings (fol. 110v: fig. 3.5 and plate VII) makes no attempt to suggest (in accordance with the text) that King David is now very old, nor that Abishag is extremely beautiful; while at Psalm 38 (fol. 199r) the head of God looks inexplicably troubled as David, below, points to his own mouth. One is led to conclude that the cases where facial expressions are apposite may sometimes be fortuitous, and certainly do not reflect a general attentiveness on the part of the artist to the nuances of the biblical narratives.

Although the initials were seemingly drawn by a single hand, the manner in which they were painted divides them neatly into two groups: in the first half of the manuscript, gold was used alongside the other colours, which are generally unmodulated (figs. 3.2, 3.3 and 3.5, and plates IV, V and VII); by contrast, in the second half (and also for the grand first letter, the “F” of the Preface), gold was not used within the imagery (only for the

<sup>9</sup> All that remains of the relevant page is a tiny stub between the present fols. 3 and 4. The start of 1 Chronicles is also missing. The finest surviving initial is the “F” to Jerome’s preface (fol. 2r: fig. 1; details reproduced in Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 9 and 106).

<sup>10</sup> Above all, “I”s.

<sup>11</sup> Fols. 20v, 176r (Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 106), and 306v.





Figure 3.2. DCL, A.II.3, fol 20v (Initial to Exodus).

outlines of the letter-shape), while the colours that are deployed are modelled (figs. 3.1, 3.4, 3.6; pls. VI, VIII). This division in the use of gold and colour at Proverbs/Ecclesiastes, roughly half-way through the book,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Fol. 229r.



Figure 3.3. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 176r (Initial to Judith).





Figure 3.4. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 306v (Initial to Hosea).



Figure 3.5. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 110v (Initial to 3 Kings).

coincides with a new quire, and can be compared with other copies in which a "second front" is apparent in some aspect of the manufacturing process around the same place.<sup>13</sup>

The drawing style links the work to the so-called "Bari atelier", as defined by Robert Branner.<sup>14</sup> He assembled bodies of work on stylistic grounds alone. What really lay behind his groups – be it coherent workshops, or just the members of one family doing piecework for various *libraires* – is unclear, and is likely to remain so until the entire corpus has been re-examined in the light of our now greatly improved knowledge of the variable conditions of thirteenth-century Parisian book production as a whole.<sup>15</sup> That at least some of the "Bari atelier" work was indeed accomplished in the French capital is supported by documentary evidence: a copy of Justinian's *Code* in French with work in this style bears a contemporary note naming its *libraire* (a certain Herneis) and recording that he resided in Paris "in front of Notre-Dame".<sup>16</sup>

With one narrative scene for each biblical book, Paris Bibles can be rich in imagery. On the other hand, both the choice and the rendering of the individual vignettes tend to be formulaic, and even the various alternatives to the most common iconographies are fairly well represented in other manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> How exactly these manifold scenes were transmitted is unclear; however, quite apart from the issue of hypothetical model-books, the sheer number of such bibles that were in circulation, some of which will always have been available for consultation via the very *libraires* who handled new productions, is surely part of the answer, as too is the fact that the relationships between book artisans were more fluid than a classification by style into various "ateliers" would suggest.

<sup>13</sup> Examples cited by Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 14 n. 55, and p. 17 n. 60. See also Chiara Ruzzier's essay in this volume.

<sup>14</sup> Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, Appendix V, N with pl. XX and ills. 283–99.

<sup>15</sup> The seminal study, and the foundation for all future work, is Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Giesen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 945 fol.: Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 1:47–49 with fig. 4; and 2:52, where the date of the manuscript is estimated as "1255–65".

<sup>17</sup> Conspectus of subjects: Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, Appendix IV, A–D. The most useful subsequent publications are those sale catalogues which describe every initial in the relevant volumes and often include a generous selection of illustrations; a few examples from many: Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, 29 November 1990), lot. 98; Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, 6 July 2002), lot. 42; Bruce Ferrini–Les Enluminures, *Important Illuminated Manuscripts* (Akron–Paris, 2000), no. 1; Christie's, *The Library of William Foyle I: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (London, 11 July 2000), lots. 15, 16, 18 and 19.





Figure 3.6. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 340r (Initial to Matthew).

What led to the selection of a particular scene as opposed to one of the alternatives in a given instance is also unclear. In the margins alongside five of the vignettes in Durham's Bible – those for Psalm 109, Acts, 1 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Apocalypse<sup>18</sup> – are guide sketches, delineating the subject of the initial. Could these represent the few occasions when a designer wanted to specify one particular scene from the available options? It is not impossible; however, these are not especially contentious junctures from an iconographic point of view, and other explanations present themselves. Given that the sketches all appear at the end either of the manuscript as a whole or of its first half (as defined by painting technique), might they represent the adoption of different procedures in the concluding stages of the project? One hypothetical motive for such a change would be that the guide for the artwork – be it a model book or an older Paris Bible – was needed elsewhere (or, in the second case, sold), requiring our draughtsman to make hasty sketches of the outstanding designs as an *aide-mémoire*. Alternatively, might there once have been more such sketches, which were automatically erased once their guidance had been implemented: with a deadline for completion pressing, the makers did not have the time – or, with the end in sight, could not be bothered – to remove these last few examples?<sup>19</sup> Certainly, some sort of “production line” with separate designer, draughtsman, and painters – a procedure that can be paralleled in other volumes<sup>20</sup> – would have been a logical way of expediting manufacture. Unfortunately there is no obvious way of deciding between these hypothetical alternatives.

The pattern of illustration in the Durham Bible (as in many others) is, in outline, as follows. The historical books up to Ezra are generally illustrated with a scene that refers to the very start of their texts (fig. 3.5 and plate VII);<sup>21</sup> then Tobit, Judith (fig. 3.3 and plate V), Esther and Job all show a key incident taken from within the body of their book. The Psalms have a standard cycle based on their opening words, while the Wisdom Books and the Song of Songs display scenes of teaching or allegorical representations of

<sup>18</sup> Respectively fols. 209v, 391v, 406r, 408r, and 409r.

<sup>19</sup> There are no obvious erasure marks beside any of the other initials; however, the minimal rubbing or wiping needed to remove sketches as faint as those on the five folios in question need not have left a discernible trace in a book whose margins have evidently been much handled.

<sup>20</sup> One example from many: Durham Cathedral Library, B.II.20: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 28.

<sup>21</sup> The exceptions are Exodus (which shows the crossing of the Red Sea, described at 14.21: fig. 3.2 and plate IV) and Nehemiah (showing the eponymous subject offering the cup to Artaxerxes, as described at 2.1 ff.).

Wisdom or the Virgin Mary. The Major Prophets plus Jonah and Habakkuk show a key event from the life of the prophet in question (fig. 3.4 and plate VI),<sup>22</sup> while the remaining Minor Prophets have a generic, standing prophetic figure. In the New Testament, Matthew's Gospel is illustrated with the Tree of Jesse (fig. 3.6 and plate VIII), and Luke's with the Annunciation to Zechariah, while Mark and John both show a simple standing figure clutching a book;<sup>23</sup> the Pauline Epistles all feature Paul, generally seated, holding a book or scroll and/or a sword; Acts boasts the apostles plus the Virgin Mary; while the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse all show their authors.<sup>24</sup> Nothing here is rare; on the contrary, the chosen scene was invariably a popular one. On the other hand, the Durham versions often include more details or figures than do most other interpretations of the same scenes. This was because its vignettes were (comparatively speaking) quite big.

The most remarkable aspect of the manuscript is, in fact, its size: 412 × 272 mm (despite significant trimming). Though not a giant in absolute terms, it is very large by the standards of thirteenth-century one-volume Paris Bibles, most of which are positively diminutive.<sup>25</sup> It is bigger, for example, than the fifty or so examples in Lauer's catalogue of Latin biblical manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>26</sup> Only four of these even approach it in size; all the rest are much smaller. Equally of some 150 single-volume Bibles (in general, very handsome ones) included in Branner's many lists, there are but two that have approximately the same dimensions as Durham's example and only one that is actually larger.<sup>27</sup> Thus from a total sample of around 200 thirteenth-century one-volume Paris Bibles, all but three are significantly smaller than our copy;<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Daniel in the lions' den: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 107.

<sup>23</sup> Fol. 340r: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 105.

<sup>24</sup> Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 107, 164–5 and 173.

<sup>25</sup> Multi-volume copies, whether from Paris or further north – such as the northern French group studied by Ellen Beer ("Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien der Stadt Arras", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 43 [1972], 190–226) or the Carysfort Bible (Sotheby's *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* [London, 5 July 2005], lot. 48; Sam Fogg, *Art of the Middle Ages* [London, 2007], pp. 46–51) – are a different matter altogether of course.

<sup>26</sup> Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins I* (Paris, 1939).

<sup>27</sup> Boulogne, BM, MS 5 (465 × 320 mm); BnF, MS lat. 15185 (400 × 285 mm); Tours, BM, MS 11 (400 × 311 mm). Only five further copies even approach these in size.

<sup>28</sup> Some of Branner's manuscripts are also in Lauer, *Catalogue général I*; however, one may also add the sixteen one-volume Paris Bibles currently included in the British Library's Digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm>, consulted 22 September 2011, and the nine inventoried in J. J. G. Alexander and Elżbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries ...* (Oxford, 1985), all of which are smaller than the Durham Bible.

indeed, the Durham manuscript is six to eight times the size of most examples.<sup>29</sup> While the great majority of Paris Bibles can reasonably be described as “pocket books”, our copy is self-evidently a “lectern volume”.

Outstanding not only for its scale but also for its opulence, the Durham Bible is highly unlikely to have been produced for “stock” (if such were ever the practice in Paris in the thirteenth century). On the contrary, the considerable extra investment in time and resources that it represented will only have been expended in response to a specific commission. The fact that even the most elevated patrons did not invariably demand extravagant copies of this text (the Paris Bible owned by King Louis IX of France and subsequently by Jean, duc de Berry, for instance, was an ordinary, “off-the-peg” specimen<sup>30</sup>) makes one all the more confident that exceptional copies were indeed the result of special circumstances. It is most unfortunate, then, that there is no direct evidence for the identity of the patron. It is not impossible that this was Durham Cathedral Priory itself or a generous benefactor of the community, not least its bishop. The occupants of the see during the period in question, Robert Stichill (1260–74) then Robert of Holy Island (1274–83), are both plausible candidates for procuring such a treasure. Both were former monks of Durham; the first was generous with gifts to the community, including at least one expensive book (a volume of decretals valued at eighty marks); the second had in fact been in France (as the community’s representative to the Second Council of Lyons) in the year that he was elected to the see.<sup>31</sup> Equally, however, the book might have been ordered and owned by some other grandee altogether before finding its way, directly or indirectly, to Durham.

Occasionally we can observe an English Benedictine community acquiring a Paris Bible at a relatively early date. Such is surely the case, for instance, at Saint Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury: its library catalogue (first compiled at some point between 1375 and 1420 but only surviving in a copy made at an uncertain date during the period 1474–97) includes,

<sup>29</sup> See in general Chiara Ruzzier’s essay in this volume.

<sup>30</sup> BnF, MS lat. 10426: Robert Branner, “Saint Louis et l’enluminure parisienne”, *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis: Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris*, ed. Louis Carolus-Barré (Paris, 1976), pp. 69–84, esp. pp. 82–3 with fig. 6. By contrast, the Bible of Charles V (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 590; Paris, s. xiii<sup>ex</sup>: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin et al., *L’Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328* [Paris, 1998], no. 181; H. Martin and Ph. Lauer, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal à Paris* [Paris, 1929], pls. XXVII–XXIX) is visually a book “fit for a king”; nevertheless, at 295 × 205 mm it is still much smaller than the Durham copy.

<sup>31</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, sub nominibus; *The Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. David and Lynda Rollason, 3 vols. (London, 2007), 3:170 and 172–3.

"Biblia Nicholai abbatis correcta parisius" – presumably a "modern" Bible from Paris which, since Nicholas was abbot from 1273–83, was evidently secured well before the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, we have no such good evidence for our Durham volume. Books were certainly acquired in Paris by a Durham man in the 1190s,<sup>33</sup> and it seems reasonable to presume that others were obtained there subsequently. However, the documentation for the history of the collection in the thirteenth century is particularly poor, while one of the few points that is clear is that, as the educational endeavours of the community focused increasingly on Oxford (where by the 1280s it had established its own study cell), ever more books (second-hand as well as new, and of continental as well as English origin) were acquired through the book trade of that town. All we know for certain is that our grand Paris Bible was at Durham by 1395 since it is identifiable in the Cloister Catalogue of that year: "Bible, unglossed, with Interpretation of Hebrew Names, 2° fol. 'nate racionem'". This second folio reference is indeed correct (see fig. 3.7);<sup>34</sup> moreover, the volume is classified in the catalogue as the "E" copy, and "E" is duly written on fol. 2r.

Henceforth its history is clearer. The presence of the volume in the 1395 Cloister Catalogue shows that it was then part of the working collection; and about a generation later, its entry was annotated *in librar[ia(m)]* (fig. 3.7).<sup>35</sup> Now, in the second decade of the fifteenth century, the facilities at Durham Cathedral Priory were enhanced by the construction of a fine new *libraria* – a room in which books could be consulted as well as stored – located at first floor level, over the parlour off the east range of the cloister.<sup>36</sup> A selection of works was transferred to this new facility in order to create a permanent reference collection. Although other biblical manuscripts (such as a versified Bible, and various glossed books) were moved

<sup>32</sup> *St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. B. C. Barker-Benfield, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 13, 3 vols. (London, 2008), 1:374 (BA1.7).

<sup>33</sup> R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), ch. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis dunelm.*, Surtees Society 7 (1838), pp. 46–79 at p. 50. The new editions destined to appear in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues are eagerly awaited.

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, p. 50. If this recurrent annotation was added in order to catalogue what was in the library room, one might logically read "in libraria"; if, however, it was primarily done to note the transfer of items into the library, one would understand "in librariam".

<sup>36</sup> A. J. Piper, "The Libraries of the Monks of Durham" in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 223–8.



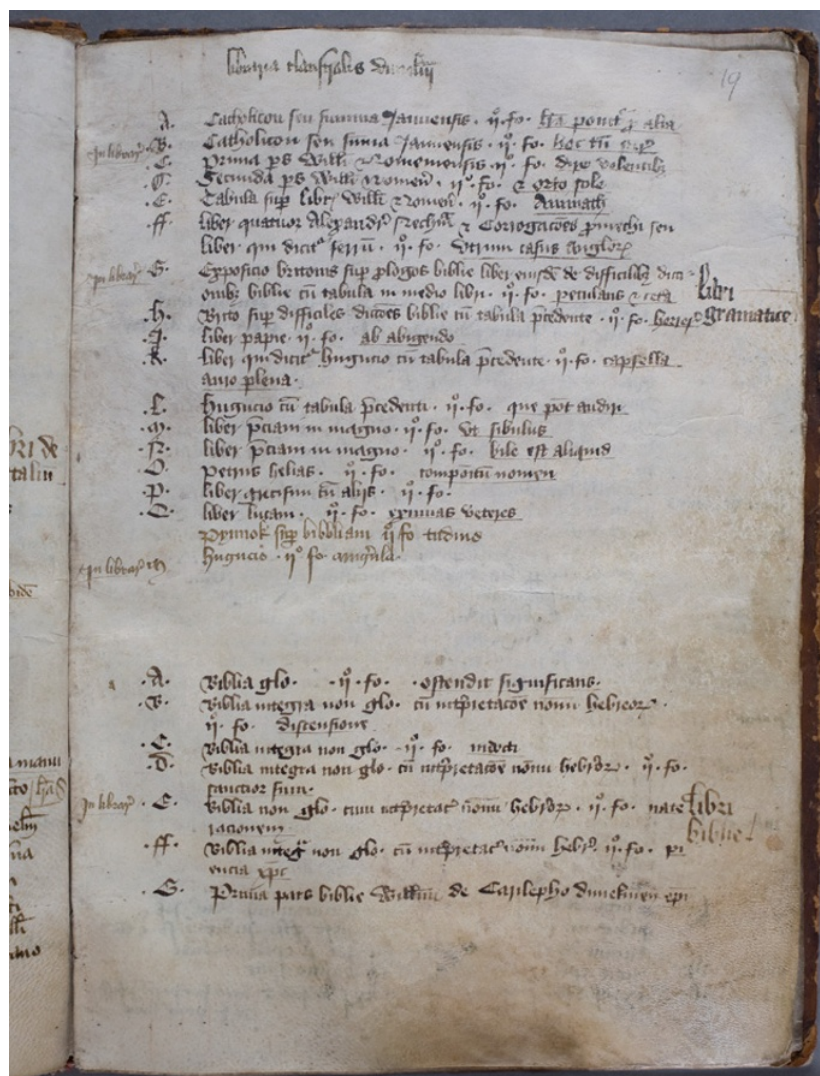


Figure 3.7. DCL, B.IV.46, fol 19r (Library catalogue: Cloister Collection; listing of Bibles commences in the second block).

there, A.II.3 seems to have been the only Bible proper.<sup>37</sup> We can be relatively confident, therefore, that by ca. 1420, it was Durham's communal reference Bible, readily available to, and in theory consulted by, all.

<sup>37</sup> No other Bible proper is so marked in the catalogues.

The Cloister Catalogue also alerts us to how many Bibles the community of Durham possessed. Our manuscript was the "E" copy in a run of Bibles that extended from "A" to "I" and comprised: a glossed copy in one volume; five unglossed one-volume copies (four of which, incidentally, are said to include the Interpretation of Hebrew Names and were therefore probably also Paris Bibles or derivatives thereof); the two-volume unglossed St. Calais (or Carilef) Bible; and part of another two-volume set. The next section of the catalogue, devoted to individual glossed books of the Bible (certainly or probably dating from the twelfth century or the first half of the thirteenth) adds another twenty volumes to this total.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the books kept in the cloister were only part of Durham's communal holdings, for the monks had another major stock of manuscripts (effectively the reserve collection) stored separately in a strong room known as the Spendement.<sup>39</sup> The catalogue of the Spendement collection that was drawn up in 1392 reveals a further four complete Bibles (three one-volume copies plus the magnificent four-volume Le Puiset Bible), a part-Bible, some versified Bibles, and more than 130 additional glossed books of the Bible (fig. 3.8).<sup>40</sup> Only one of the four complete Bibles in this repository, we may remark, is said to include the Interpretation of Hebrew Names;<sup>41</sup> most copies of the new edition, therefore, were in the working collection rather than in the store.

As comparanda, we may note that the late medieval library catalogue of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, lists nearly forty complete (unglossed) Bibles, plus numerous individual glossed books. This document does not record whether copies included the Glossary of Hebrew names; on the other hand, it does associate them with specified individuals, underlining the role of particular members of the community in building up the stock of Bibles. Thus the first Bible on the list which can be identified with a surviving manuscript (a Parisian product of the third quarter of the thirteenth century) was acquired within a generation of its manufacture by a certain Nicholas of Battle, who gave it to the community.<sup>42</sup> The last on the list, identifiable as BL, MS Burney 11 (English work of the early thirteenth

<sup>38</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 50–2.

<sup>39</sup> For an overview of all the various collections see Piper, "Libraries of the Monks of Durham", pp. 213–49.

<sup>40</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 10–34.

<sup>41</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, p. 10: the "C" copy (an entry written in a different hand from the main one responsible for this catalogue); also p. 85.

<sup>42</sup> No. 29: *St. Augustine's Abbey*, ed. Barker-Benfield, 1:383–4. The manuscript is New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 970.

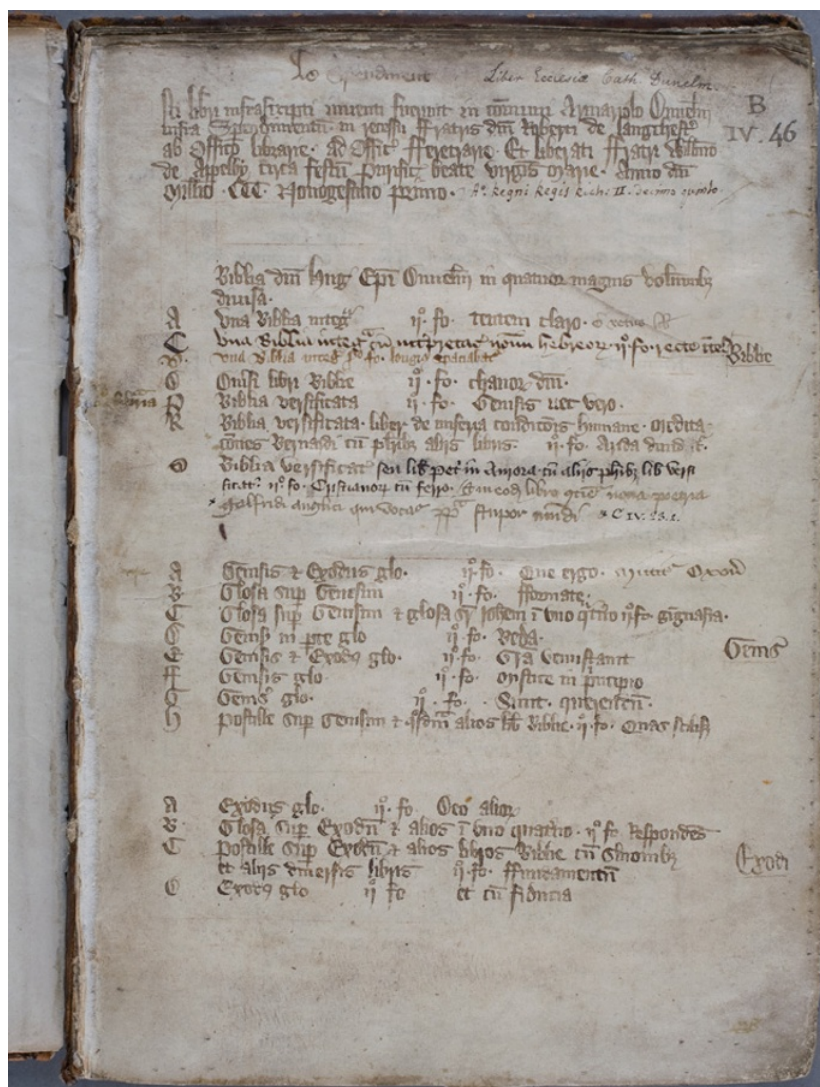


Figure 3.8. DCL, B.IV.46, fol. 1r (Library catalogue: Spendement Collection, starting with Bibles).

century),<sup>43</sup> is described as the Bible of Clement Canterbury – a character famous for his extensive interventions in many of the community's books in the later fifteenth century.<sup>44</sup> The manuscript itself contains a note recording that Clement purchased it in Oxford in 1473 from the stationer Thomas Hunt, and that he “gave it” to Saint Augustine's on 28 February 1474; the borrowing records, however, show that he effectively kept it in his own possession.

## II

So did the arrival of ever-increasing numbers of “new” Bibles render older ones, especially pre-Paris types, obsolete? There are occasionally hints that they were sometimes seen as more expendable than later examples: Saint Augustine's Abbey would seem to have been recycling parts of its great ninth-century Bible (possibly already damaged) during the thirteenth century.<sup>45</sup> The fate of that house's other historic copies is unclear owing to a lack of evidence.<sup>46</sup> In relation to Durham Cathedral Priory, the survival of a number of the older manuscripts in question, plus a run of library catalogues dating from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, enable us to approach this question in some detail. The discussion that follows is necessarily concerned with minutiae as we examine the late medieval interventions in Durham's three Romanesque “lectern” Bibles (A.II.2, A.II.1, and A.II.4); however, there is no other way to understand how these manuscripts were treated in the later Middle Ages, and such evidence has rarely been presented. A summary of the key points is offered at the end of this section (to which some readers may wish to turn at once), while the broader issues to which the detail leads will be considered in the third and final part of the study.

<sup>43</sup> No. 44: *St. Augustine's Abbey*, ed. Barker-Benfield, 1:388.

<sup>44</sup> See further *St. Augustine's Abbey*, ed. Barker-Benfield, 3:1839; also A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield, eds., *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt (1908–1979)* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 88–92.

<sup>45</sup> BL, MS Royal 1 E.vi + Canterbury Cathedral, MS Add. 16 + Bodl., MS Lat. bib. b.2 (P): Richard Gameson, *The Earliest Books of Canterbury Cathedral: Manuscripts and Fragments to c. 1200* (London, 2008), no. 1.

<sup>46</sup> The s. xij<sup>med</sup> Lambeth Bible (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3 + Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery s.n.: Dorothy M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible: A Study of Texts and Imagery* [Turnhout, 2007]) is hypothetically rather than certainly attributable to St. Augustine's Abbey, while that community's presumptively late antique “Biblia Gregoriana” (Mildred Budny, “The Biblia Gregoriana”, *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson [Stroud, 1999], pp. 237–84) has vanished without trace.

MS A.II.2 is the second and only surviving part of a two-volume Bible dating from the third quarter of the twelfth century which may have been written at Durham itself – its texts of the Psalms and the Gospels seem to have been copied from those of the St. Calais Bible, which was certainly at Durham from the end of the eleventh century.<sup>47</sup> At some point in the late thirteenth or the fourteenth century the “externals” of A.II.2’s content were corrected against a Paris Bible – that is, the text itself was not changed, but the new chapter divisions and numbers were inserted. In actual fact, it was subject to three phases of renumbering: first, a neat hand, using crayon, introduced the new numbers into a couple of books; secondly (and probably soon thereafter) a bolder and more flowing hand, again using crayon, inserted them throughout the manuscript – duplicating much of the earlier work where it appeared; finally, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, a third hand working in black ink corrected, rewrote, or simply repeated certain of the earlier numbers.<sup>48</sup> Though the contributions are often complementary and it is rare that all three overlap, nevertheless there are occasions when the same number was added thrice to the same point (fol. 50r: fig. 3.9).

Durham’s grand Paris Bible, A.II.3 (the manuscript with which we started), was not the guide-copy for this process of rectification, for there are sometimes minor discrepancies between its numbering and that which was added to A.II.2.<sup>49</sup> Matthew’s Gospel in A.II.3, for example, had twenty-eight chapters as it should, but the final one was misnumbered “27”; the reviser of A.II.2 correctly inserted a “28” at this point in his text. Again, in 1 Corinthians, A.II.3 had the requisite sixteen chapters but with the final one erroneously labelled “26”; A.II.2 was appropriately marked with a “16” here. While these discrepancies might simply reflect an intelligent reaction on the part of the corrector – not perpetuating obvious

<sup>47</sup> Chronicles-Apocalypse: Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 147. Hans Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 193–4, highlights the close relationship between their texts of the Gospels (also pointing out that that of A.II.2 was soon corrected with reference to another copy); while D. W. Godding, “The Text of the Psalms in Two Durham Bibles”, *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 94–6, does the same for Psalms (indicating in addition the ultimate relationship of their common version to a Theodulfian archetype). No other parts have yet been compared in detail.

<sup>48</sup> In broad outline, the hands appear as follows: 1 Chronicles, hands 2 and 3; 2 Chronicles, hand 2; Proverbs, hands 2 and 3; Ecclesiastes, 2 and 3; Song of Songs, 2 and 3; Sapientia, 1, 2 and 3; Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), 2 and 3; Tobit, 2; Judith, 1 and 2; Esther, 2; Maccabees-Apocalypse, mainly just hand 2.

<sup>49</sup> Generally relating to the contribution of hand two which was, of course, by far the most extensive.



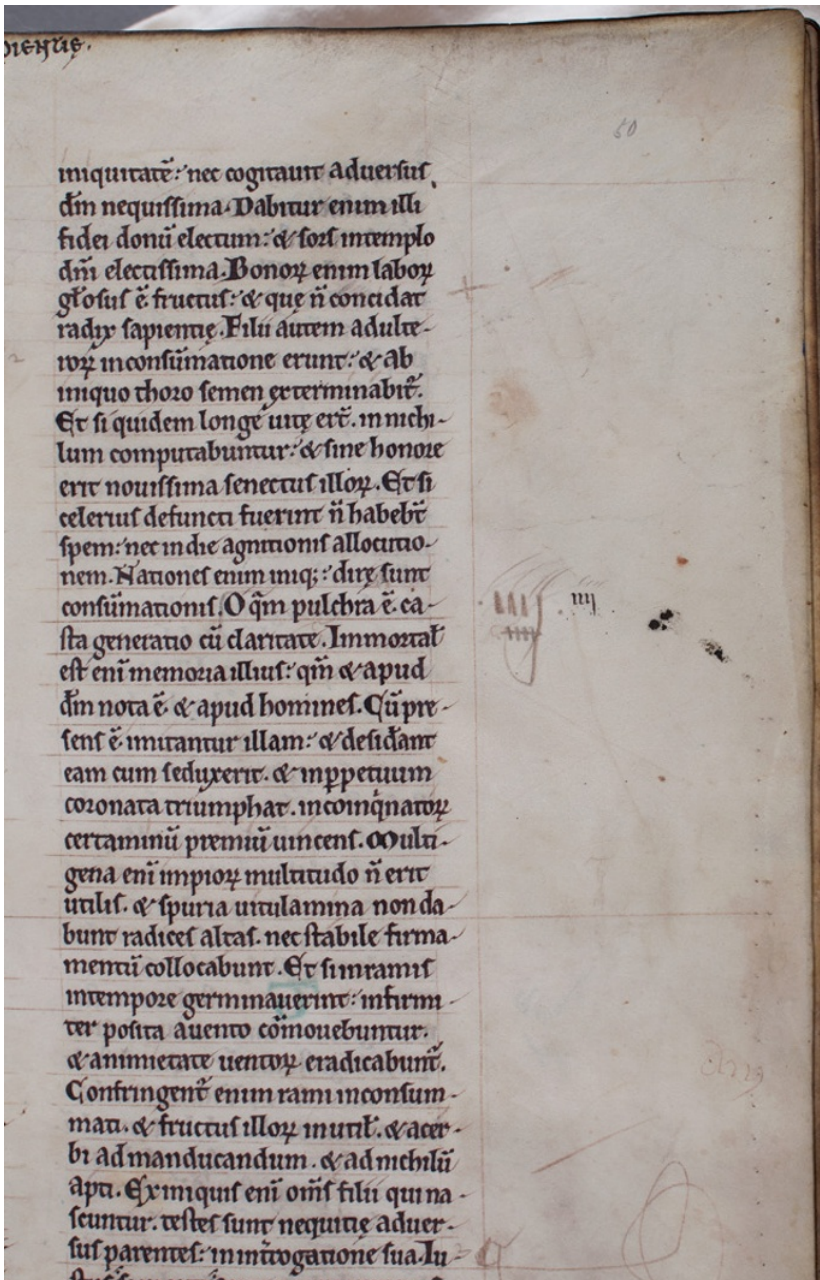


Figure 3.9. DCL, A.II.2, fol. 50r (twelfth-century Bible: detail showing added chapter numbers).

errors – more telling is the fact that the thirteen numbers that were added to A.II.2's Esther do not correspond at all to the sixteen that had been used in A.II.3. Even more striking is the circumstance that in 1 Timothy, the hand working on A.II.2 inserted a "4" near to the place where the number for chapter 5 should have been, put "5" where "6" ought to have gone, and then used "5" again, before crossing it out: there is absolutely nothing in the clear and correct numbering of the corresponding sections of A.II.3, Durham's great Paris Bible, that could have triggered such confusion.

What, then, was the model? It is not inconceivable that A.II.2 was compared with something like A.II.7, a composite glossed part-Bible which, though dating from the early thirteenth century, already had most of the new standard chapters clearly marked.<sup>50</sup> A contemporary donation inscription (on fol. 1r) shows that this volume had reached Durham by the mid-thirteenth century, and its documented presence in the Cloister (as opposed to the Spendement) collection indicates that it was still in use in the fourteenth century.<sup>51</sup> It is more probable, however, that another Paris Bible (or a derivative thereof made elsewhere) was used. The Cloister catalogue does, after all, list three further examples alongside the grand A.II.3, with another one (identifiable as Bodl., MS Laud Lat. 12) appearing in the Spendement holdings; yet others may have been elsewhere in the Priory, including in the possession of individual monks.<sup>52</sup> The Laudian copy, an economically-made English manuscript of early thirteenth-century date, is now incomplete, and it only has Esther from those books which were renumbered anomalously in A.II.2; nevertheless, this is sufficient to show that it cannot have been the guide for the reworking of that manuscript.<sup>53</sup> The Laudian Bible itself was subsequently dispatched by the monks of Durham to their college in Oxford.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The exception was Maccabees.

<sup>51</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 50–1: "C" (presumably for "E").

<sup>52</sup> One apparently s. xiii Bible of Durham provenance, last mentioned in (unidentified) private hands (*Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: Supplement*, ed. Andrew G. Watson [London, 1987], p. 34, recording its presence at Quaritch in 1961, whence to E. Rossignol, bookseller, Paris, and then to an unknown client), is currently untraced and hence I have not been able to examine it.

<sup>53</sup> Genesis-4 Esdre (= Stegmüller, no. 95). The fact that Laud lat. 12, a fairly fat volume in its present state (ff. 279; brutally cut down to 224 × 152 mm [written area 178 × 105]; 50 mm thick), was once a complete Bible is indicated both by the catalogue entry and by the lists of "tituli" that were prefixed to it in s. xiii-xiv (which cover selected books up to Maccabees, followed by Acts). Esther was originally divided into seven chapters; in s. xv this was altered to the standard sixteen.

<sup>54</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, p. 85, copy "C" annotated, "Oxon". On fol. 10r of the MS itself (the start of the original text: Jerome's prefatory letter) the Durham ex libris "Liber sci Cuthberti

MS A.II.1 is the great four-volume Bible of Hugh of le Puiset, bishop of Durham 1153–95;<sup>55</sup> unlikely to have been made in Durham or even for Durham, it was acquired by Bishop Hugh himself (as its earliest *ex libris* broadcast), only subsequently passing to his cathedral priory. In the later Middle Ages this copy, too, was carefully compared with a Bible of Paris type and the new chapter numbers were painstakingly introduced throughout, supported by paraph marks inserted into the text to flag the beginning of the new sections (fig. 3.10);<sup>56</sup> here, in addition, the Psalms were also numbered.<sup>57</sup> Evidently all done in a single campaign, quite possibly by one hand,<sup>57</sup> this was an appreciable labour, particularly in relation to a volume that was seemingly not part of the community's working collection (at least not during the period for which we have documentary evidence). *That*, it will be remembered, comprised the volumes that were kept in the cloister. The Le Puiset Bible, however, was consigned to the store room, the Spendement: it appears as the first item on the Spendement catalogue of 1392 (fig. 3.8), and it was still there a quarter of a century later when that collection was audited in 1416.<sup>58</sup>

MS A.II.4, the St. Calais (or Carilef) Bible, was made in Normandy in the late eleventh century and was given to Durham by William of Saint Calais (†1096), the Norman bishop who in 1083 converted the cathedral community into a Benedictine priory. Of its original two volumes, only the second (containing Daniel to the Apocalypse) survives (figs. 11–12).<sup>59</sup> Here, the addition of chapter numbers and paraph marks to adapt the text to Paris

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de Dunel" was inscribed; to which a different hand subsequently added "assig[the rest torn away] collegi?o". Incidentally, a Durham hand also added to the lower margin of the same page, "In iste uolumine continentur", the rest of the line having been erased and the following one both erased and (subsequently) in large part sliced off.

<sup>55</sup> Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 146; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 18.

<sup>56</sup> No number being given to "Pusillus eram". There are minor discrepancies in the numbering of Ruth, Jude and Hebrews.

<sup>57</sup> The numbering was done in Arabic numerals, using crayon or lead. The appearance of the numerals is fairly consistent throughout: such occasional changes in the form of certain numbers as appear are not incompatible with being the work of one hand, however it is prudent not to be dogmatic on the point. Occasionally an identical smaller number appears beside the main one (e.g. vol. I, fols. 28v, 38v, 40r and 41r): this would seem to represent the annotator finding and marking the place, prior to inserting the new numbering in a bolder way.

<sup>58</sup> *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 10 and 85. In addition, the late medieval inscription added to the start (fol. 2r) of vol. III of the MS itself declares: "Tercia pars biblia de communi libraria monachorum dunelm' in le Spendement".

<sup>59</sup> Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 30; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 10.



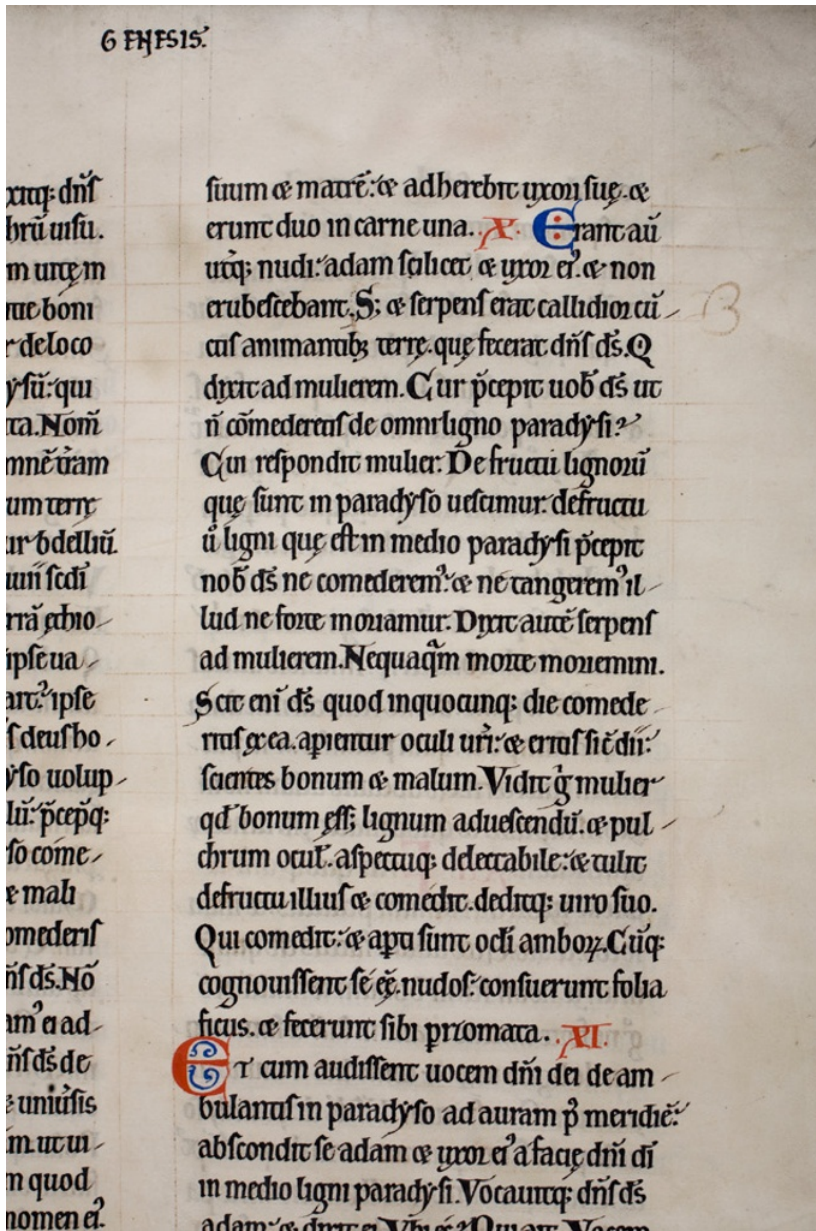


Figure 3.10. DCL, A.II.1, fol. 9r (Le Puiset Bible: added chapter number).

Bible divisions was episodic and partial. Some biblical books were updated, others were not, while yet others were partly done. The process was fully carried out in Hosea, Amos, Jonah, Habakkuk, Tobit, Ezra, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians and Ephesians. Untouched were Malachi, Psalms, Mark, Luke and John, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and John. Partially treated, or renumbered (wholly or in part) according to a different system were Daniel, Joel, Micah, Zechariah, Judith, Esther, Matthew, 2 Corinthians and the Apocalypse. Thus of the twenty-eight "new" chapters in Matthew's Gospel and the twenty-two in the Apocalypse, only the first fourteen were inserted in both cases (Matthew 6 being in the "wrong" place, and Matthew 13 being omitted); while the ten numbers that were added to Judith do not correspond at all to the sixteen chapters associated with the Paris Bible.

There is no obvious rhyme nor reason as to what was and what was not updated here: it does not reflect disjunctions in the order of the biblical books between this copy and a Paris Bible, nor what would or would not have been useful for a general programme of lections. The only trend that is apparent is that there are fewer interventions towards the end of the volume: with the exception of the imperfectly done Apocalypse, the revisions tail off after the first few Pauline Epistles. In actual fact, the situation is even more complicated since the numbers that were added were evidently the result of several different campaigns, clearly distinguished by the medium that was used (ink, lead or crayon) and by the type of number (Roman or Arabic) as well as by the size and aspect of the numerals themselves. Thus the Prophets were all done in Arabic numerals, whereas everywhere else Roman ones were deployed; the remaining books of the Old Testament, plus Matthew and Acts in the New, were annotated (in Roman numerals) with pencil, the Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse with crayon. It is debatable whether these distinctions reflect different workers within a single campaign, piece-meal updating in response to an evolving use of the book, or other circumstances. This is a question to which we shall return. Furthermore, the numbers that had been written in lead were subsequently reinforced with further numerals in ink (fig. 3.11); that these were indeed added later, as suggested by their style and placement, is confirmed in the Book of Acts where they manifestly run over certain of the lead numbers. (It is possible, incidentally, that some of the Roman numbering in crayon and ink was done by the second and third hands who worked in the same capacity on A.II.2, the first Romanesque

volume that we considered; however, the short, episodic nature of all the contributions and the generic form of the numerals make it difficult to be sure.)

One might surmise that the ink numbers in the St. Calais Bible were valued for their greater legibility. More difficult to understand is the situation in Ephesians where, uniquely, a first numbering done in crayon was supplemented by a second one in lead.<sup>60</sup> The extra work that was involved in supplying duplicate sets of numerals for certain books makes it all the more puzzling that the volume remained only intermittently and idiosyncratically renumbered as a whole. (While the numbers in A.II.2 were similarly added by three different hands, one of them did work all the way through the entire volume.) Nevertheless, despite an updating that was more episodic than that received by Le Puiset's Bible, the St. Calais Bible was (unlike Le Puiset's), unquestionably one of the priory's working books in the later Middle Ages. Not only was it part of the cloister collection (where it was duly catalogued in 1395), it also reappears on a separate list of manuscripts that were kept "in the little cupboard by the entry to the

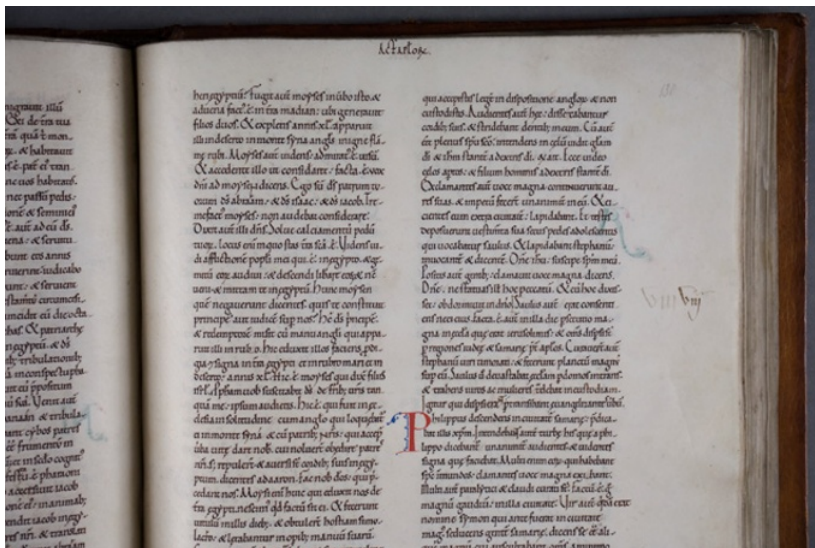


Figure 3.11. DCL, A.II.4, fol. 130r (St Calais / Carilef Bible: added chapter numbers).

<sup>60</sup> The pencil numerals are larger than the crayon ones.





Figure 3.12. DCL, A.II.4, fol. 87v (St Calais / Carilef Bible: initial to Matthew).

infirmary for reading in the refectory".<sup>61</sup> We know for certain therefore that it was still seeing active, communal use at this date.<sup>62</sup>

Let us summarise what we have seen. In the later Middle Ages Durham's three Romanesque "lectern" Bibles all had chapter numbers updated in accordance with the Parisian system, but in different ways and to differing degrees; it is impossible now to identify the manuscript (or manuscripts) that guided the work, and it (or they) may no longer be extant. In A.II.2 three separate campaigns resulted in the renumbering of the chapters of every biblical book – in a few cases, however, according to alternative (non-Parisian) systems. There is no evidence concerning when, how, or even if, this copy was then used. The Le Puiset Bible was renumbered throughout (including the Psalms), apparently in a single campaign, only to languish in the reserve store (the Spendement). In the St. Calais Bible, a series of distinct campaigns resulted in an erratic updating, with some books adapted to the Parisian divisions, some partially done, and others untouched; this copy was deployed in the refectory.

### III

What general points can we draw from this mass of material? Although just one test case, it is valuable (particularly in an English context) because of the relative abundance both of surviving manuscripts and of documentation. The addition of Parisian chapter numbering to older Bibles is a common – if understudied – phenomenon, and what we see at Durham is probably not atypical of the reception of the new system at many venerable monastic institutions and its transfer to older copies in their care.<sup>63</sup> The question of what one then deduces from such activity must, the Durham evidence suggests, be approached with circumspection.

In the first place our material reminds us of an easily overlooked dimension to the history of the Bible in the Middle Ages. In particular, it both qualifies and adds depth to current understanding of the revolution that

<sup>61</sup> "Libri subscripti jacent in almariolo juxta introitum ad infirmariam pro lectura in refectorio ...": *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 50 and 80.

<sup>62</sup> For the sake of the record, we may note that BL, MS Harley 4747, a s. xii/xiii Gospel Book joined to a coeval calendar fragment apparently for use at Coldingham (one of Durham's cells) was updated throughout, probably in s. xiv, the new chapter numbers being written in the margin, and angle brackets inserted into the text to flag incipits that were not already marked by an initial.

<sup>63</sup> See also Sabina Magrini's essay in this volume.

the Bible underwent during the thirteenth century. Accounts of this phenomenon inevitably emphasise change.<sup>64</sup> Large, often multi-volume, communal copies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which could vary widely with respect to the choice of prefaces, the order of the biblical books and the subdivisions within them, were superseded by a new, more standardised edition, which was often produced in a diminutive format suitable for use by individuals. New clienteles, notably the friars, adopted and took advantage of this novel, portable tool. The number of Bibles being produced rose very dramatically – to the extent, it is sometimes said, that few new copies needed to be made in the fourteenth century. Yet alongside these undoubted changes, there were elements of continuity. Older monastic communities were also acquiring the new volumes, albeit often via individuals. Rather than necessarily rendering the older Bibles obsolete, the recent arrivals could foster their reconditioning. Thus another reason why relatively few new Bibles were made in the fourteenth century was that, as older copies were then being modernised, the number of up-to-date examples was actually still rising.

The second general point is a further paradox. Superficially, this reworking of older Bibles would seem to provide excellent evidence for their continuing use in the later Middle Ages. However, as the Durham material showed, reality could be more complicated. Some (such as the Le Puiset Bible) were systematically and thoroughly updated, but then were not put into active service or were only used minimally. Others (like the St. Calais Bible), which certainly continued in regular use, were only imperfectly updated.

There are many imponderables here. In relation to the episodic renumbering of the St. Calais Bible, part of the explanation is surely that the new divisions were not essential to the way it was being deployed – for continuous communal reading. Correspondingly, the very fact that the St. Calais Bible remained in active service in this way may explain why it was never fully updated: the curious pattern of multiple short campaigns of renumbering might conceivably reflect the exigencies of fitting such work around the on-going use of the book in the refectory.

As to the comprehensive updating of copies that were not in active service, there will have come occasions in the life-cycle of most communities when the book collection was overhauled for one reason or another; moreover, the brotherhood of some foundations may on occasion have

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<sup>64</sup> For a clear summary, plus bibliography, see de Hamel, *The Book*, ch. 5.

included individuals with an enthusiasm for bibliographical house-keeping, whether or not it was strictly necessary. One thinks of people like the John Whytefelde who compiled the extraordinarily meticulous Dover library catalogue of 1389;<sup>65</sup> or Clement Canterbury who annotated numerous manuscripts at Saint Augustine's Abbey in the late fifteenth century.<sup>66</sup> (The possibility that the same hands may have added numbering to both A.II.2 and the St Calais Bible is suggestive in this context.<sup>67</sup>) The most obvious time for such initiatives at Durham would have been the generations on either side of 1400, when the priory's Oxford cell was refounded as a college (1381), when the community had a couple of academic stars in the persons of Uthred of Boldon (†1397) and John Wessington (professed 1390), and when this last, as sacrist and chancellor (from 1409), had oversight of the book collections, and then, as prior (from 1416), initiated the new library room. Certainly, it was during this period that new study tools such as *tabulae* were acquired, and indices were supplied for older volumes, notably the house copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.<sup>68</sup>

Third, and above all, the material reminds us of the chronological range of the volumes that continued in service in the later Middle Ages – and hence of the extent to which the old remained current alongside the new. The more intellectual (and/or proprietorial) monks doubtless possessed Bibles which were, to all intents and purposes, their own – like the small-format thirteenth-century one that passed into the hands of John Auckland by the gift of Richard Bell (prior of Durham 1464–78).<sup>69</sup> *The Rites of Durham*, a nostalgic but well-informed late sixteenth-century account of the customs and possessions of the community on the eve of the

<sup>65</sup> See *Dover Priory*, ed. William P. Stoneman, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 5 (London, 1999).

<sup>66</sup> For Clement see note 44 above.

<sup>67</sup> A complete tabulation and detailed comparison of every phase of all such work in extant Durham Bibles might in theory bring modest clarification; however, as many of the manuscripts relevant to the whole picture have been lost or are unidentifiable, while it is often difficult to be confident when/if such work in known copies is by the same hand and to date any of it other than very broadly, clearly such a “game” would not be “worth the candle”.

<sup>68</sup> Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.II.35: Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 47; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, no. 12.

<sup>69</sup> Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.IV.37. An erased inscription on fol. 2v, partly legible under ultra-violet light, declares: “liber iohannis Aukland monachi Dunelmie ex dono venerabilis in christo patris <?> ricardi Bell prioris eiusdem loci”. John Auckland was himself prior from 1484–94. See now Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre, eds., *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers* (York-Woodbridge, 2010), p. 120 with pl. 21.

Dissolution, tells us that in addition to private reading in their carrels, the monks had access to the fifteenth-century library room “at all tymes”.<sup>70</sup> We can be confident, therefore, that the Bible that was known to, and consulted by, the largest number of Durham monks in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was the fine, large-format, late thirteenth-century Paris one with which we began, the only copy to have been transferred to the library room (figs. 1–6). The Bible that was in front of the daily reader in the refectory, however, was that given by William of Saint Calais, a late eleventh-century copy of Norman origin (figs. 11–12).

Attentive users of these two manuscripts will unquestionably have been struck by differences in their texts. To give a general impression of the degree to which they diverge, the Appendix presents a collation of their versions of Daniel chapters 1–3 and Matthew chapters 1–8. Orthographical variations and obvious copying errors aside, there remain over eighty occasions in the passage from the Old Testament and forty-five in that from the New when the two manuscripts display different readings or word order. Rarely does this effect the sense; however, the phenomenon is sufficiently regular – occurring on average five to six times per chapter in Matthew and twenty to thirty times in the longer ones of Daniel – that one can safely presume that any reader familiar with one of the texts would have noticed the verbal discrepancies in the other. Yet at no point was either of them altered. Notwithstanding the multiple programmes of inserting new chapter numbers and divisions into the St. Calais Bible, not one word of its text was revised to follow the many departures in the Paris version. With the advantage of hindsight one can comment that this was just as well, since in five out of every eight cases in the Old Testament where the textual traditions diverge, and in four out of every five in the New, St. Calais preserves the better reading. The more general point, however, is that there was seemingly no interest here in the concept of a single authoritative text. The divisions of the Paris Bible became normative; its text did not – indeed, the version that the monks of Durham heard daily in the refectory (i.e. St. Calais) was a different one, as we have seen. But then the use of common chapter divisions was an issue of convenience, the existence of alternative textual traditions was an inescapable matter of fact – a long-standing diversity that had been accepted, even exploited, by such eminent spiritual authorities as Gregory the

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<sup>70</sup> *Rites of Durham Being a Description or Brief Declaration of All the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs Belonging or Being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society 107 (1903), p. 83.



Great.<sup>71</sup> And if inserting the new subdivisions was relatively easy and swift, harmonising the entirety of the texts would have been taxing and time-consuming.

Users must also have been struck by the differences in the decoration of the two volumes. Assessing the reasons behind the choice of imagery in a particular thirteenth-century Paris Bible is virtually impossible, and it is equally difficult in general to comment on how the decoration may have been perceived by its medieval owners. This case is more amenable to elucidation, however: since we know the two Bibles that were most used by significant numbers of Durham monks in the later Middle Ages, we may legitimately record certain basic differences between their imagery and how it was deployed, thus identifying points that would unavoidably have struck anyone who had leafed through both.

The continuous run of historiated initials in Durham's grand Paris Bible becomes all the more striking in comparison with the alternation between historiated and decorated ones in St. Calais's volume. This is particularly noticeable in the Pauline Epistles, where St. Calais has a couple of historiated initials, while this Paris Bible has a long sequence of images of Paul; the contrast highlights not only the number but also the militancy of the latter, wherein the apostle regularly wields a sword. Again, whereas in St. Calais only a couple of the Prophets have figurative initials (showing a man with a scroll), in this Paris Bible they all do – and here, while the historiated initials present most of the Minor Prophets in similar terms as agents of God's word (standing figures with a scroll once again), they invite the beholder to focus on an event from the life of the Major Prophets (by featuring a narrative scene). Unlike St. Calais, which starts each gospel with its evangelist symbol (fig. 3.12),<sup>72</sup> Durham's Paris Bible does not present the Four Gospels as a set in this way: on the contrary, its decorative programme highlights Matthew, using a Tree of Jesse to emphasise the links between the New Testament and the Old (fig. 3.6 and plate VIII).<sup>73</sup> The visual contrasts at the juncture between the two Testaments will have been accentuated by the fact that St. Calais had decorated canon tables

<sup>71</sup> Gregory the Great, "Epistola ad Leandrum", § 5 (S. Gregorii Magni, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143, 3 vols. [Turnhout, 1979–85], 1:7): "Novam vero translationem dissero; sed cum probationis causa exigit, nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia adsumo, ut, quia sedes apostolica cui Deo auctore praesideo utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur".

<sup>72</sup> All illustrated in Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 52–4.

<sup>73</sup> Illustrated: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, p. 105.

(sadly excised) whereas the Paris Bible of course had none.<sup>74</sup> As a final example at the level of an individual book, whereas St. Calais presents the Apocalypse in terms of the deity (showing a youthful seated figure holding two books, one marked with seven seals), this Paris Bible offers John the visionary writer amidst the seven churches.<sup>75</sup> How users may have responded to these and other points of contrast is irrecoverable, but that they will have noticed them cannot be doubted.

Finally, having stressed that any reader would have perceived the contrasts between the two communal Bibles that were in regular use, it is worth asking whether the Durham monks are likely to have been conscious of their difference in age. At one level, the answer is obviously “yes”: not only do their styles of script and decoration proclaim them to be products of different periods (as most medieval users would doubtless have recognised) but one of them had patently had to have its chapter numbering updated while the other had not. Furthermore, the older one was (as the library catalogues record) known as the “Carilef Bible”, associating it directly with the re-foundation of the community in the late eleventh century, an event firmly engrained in its collective historical consciousness.<sup>76</sup> Paradoxically, however, this last point also alerts us to the sense in which the answer to the question is simultaneously “no”. Since its re-foundation as a Benedictine priory in 1083, the community was in some sense a continuum. For the late medieval monks who prayed in a cathedral church with a fifteenth-century tower, a thirteenth-century east end and a Romanesque nave, the book collection that had evolved over the same period was also a continuum. The Spendement Catalogue provides modest evidence to justify this statement. In the fifteenth century it was annotated in various ways. In addition to recording the transfer of volumes, notes were added on the state, size or value of certain items. Interestingly, one – and only one – of the Bibles (the “A” copy) was glossed with the words, “it is an old book” (fig. 3.8).<sup>77</sup> By implication, therefore, the St. Calais Bible and the various other copies that we have considered were not perceived as “old” books in the same way. What in this context did “old” mean? The “A” volume has not survived, so we cannot be certain.

<sup>74</sup> Between fols. 86 and 87. The remains of at least three crudely cropped stubs survive in the gutter.

<sup>75</sup> Illustrated: Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 55 and 173.

<sup>76</sup> As celebrated in the house history by Symeon of Durham: *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, IV.3, ed. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), pp. 228–34.

<sup>77</sup> “Est vetus liber”: *Catalogi Veteres*, pp. 10 and 85.

I would suggest, however, that here the term implied at the very least that the book was believed to predate the re-foundation of the community in 1083. Moreover, there is some chance that the manuscript in question was very much older than that.<sup>78</sup> Given that of the three pandects made at Wearmouth-Jarrow around 700, the one that apparently remained with that community is unaccounted for,<sup>79</sup> and given that resources (including books) that had belonged to Wearmouth-Jarrow were subsequently absorbed by the community of St. Cuthbert, then there is at least a possibility that *this* was the “old” Bible in the Spendement.<sup>80</sup> If perchance such was the case, it is ironic that, while the late medieval monks of Durham used their thirteenth-century Paris Bible and had updated the “external” features of their eleventh- and twelfth-century ones, unquestionably the best text of the Bible that they possessed languished in the store room. Newer is not always better.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> What a cataloguer at Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, working around 1300, described as “Quatuor euangelia uetera” (BL, MS Royal 1 E.vi; inscription on fol. i recto) was a volume dating from the early ninth century (see note 45).

<sup>79</sup> One was offered to St. Peter's, Rome, while another seems to have passed to Worcester by the eleventh century and possibly during the eighth. The fundamental account of the Ceolfridian Bibles is now Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1995), chs. 3–4, which underlines (pp. 93–5) the fact that all the *membra disiecta* come from one copy (part of the evidence for this, incidentally, is the presence of the new chapter numbering thereon, done by a single s. xiii-xiv hand). The one copy to survive intact, Laur., Amiatino 1, is described by Laura Alidori et al., *Bibbie Miniature della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze* (Florence, 2003), pp. 3–58; its text is reported as siglum “A” in *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, et al., (Stuttgart, 1969).

<sup>80</sup> The most likely time for the putative acquisition would have been the late ninth century, when the community of St. Cuthbert that ended up in Durham had settled at Chester-le-Street (less than ten miles from Wearmouth and Jarrow alike) and was reputedly granted all the land between the Tyne and the Wear, i.e. embracing Biscop and Ceolfrith's twin foundation, both parts of which, moreover, appear to have been abandoned shortly before this time. Now, one of the very few pieces of extant writing associable with the community at Chester-le-Street in the tenth century was the addition to an old Collectar of antiphons, versicles and responds specifically to accompany lections from Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, the Minor Prophets, Kings, Wisdom and Job (Durham Cathedral Library, A.IV.19, fols. 64v-65r and 76[69]v); and another was expanding an old copy of Bede, *In Proverbia Salomonis* (Bodl., MS Bodley 819) to include a full text of Proverbs. This suggests that the community had acquired a Bible – for which Wearmouth-Jarrow would be the most obvious source. The 2<sup>o</sup> folio reference given for the “A” volume in the Durham Spendement catalogue (“tentem claro”) – presumably, “... lapidem praecisum de monte sine manibus et regna omnia subvertentem claro sermone pronuntiat” from Jerome's “Epistula LIII ad Paulinam de studio scripturarum” (PL 22:540–9; also Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible latine* [Namur, 1920], p. 3) – is of limited help, but certainly does not vitiate the theory that this was a Ceolfrith Bible, since the same text was drawn upon for part of the extensive (now disordered) preliminaries of Codex Amiatinus (fol. VII/6v; for which, see note 79).

<sup>81</sup> I am very grateful to the friendly and efficient staff of Durham Cathedral Library for facilitating my work on the MSS in their care; and to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for permission to reproduce the illustrations that accompany this study.

## APPENDIX

## COLLATION OF CARILEF (C) AND PARIS (P)

Collation of the Saint-Calais or Carilef Bible (DCL, A.II.4: here 'C') and Durham's Paris Bible (DCL, A.II.3: here 'P'). The reading in Carilef is always presented first. The version closest to that presented as the standard text in the Stuttgart Vulgate (see note 79) is signalled in each entry by the use of bold for the siglum of the MS in question (occasionally – e.g. Mt 5.43, 6.6, 8.3, 8.26 – both are highlighted as of equivalent status; or – Daniel 2.41, Mt 8.32 – neither).

*Daniel*

- 1.2. C: regem iuda [**P**: regem iude.
- 1.2. C: domus dei coepit et asportauit ea [**P**: domus dei Et asportauit ea.
- 1.4. C: forma eruditos [**P**: forma et eruditos.
- 1.6. C: de filiis Iuda [**P**: de filiis Iude.
- 1.6. C: Ananias→Annanias (early correction) [**P**: Ananias.
- 1.7. C: baltahasar [**P**: Balthasar.
- 1.7. C: Sydrach [**P**: Sydrac.
- 1.7. C: misaheli [**P**: misaeli.
- 1.8. C: in corde suo [**P**: in corde.
- 1.9. C: Dedit autem dues daniheli gratiam et misericordiam in conspectu [**P**: Dedit autem danieli gratiam et misericordiam deus in conspectus principis eunuchorum super danielem (see below).
- 1.10. C: all text present. [**P**: omits end 1.9-start 1.11.
- 1.13. C: et sic uideris facies [**P**: Et sicut uideris sic facies.
- 1.13. C: conseruis tuis [**P**: cum seruis tuis.
- 1.17. C: Pueris autem his [**P**: Pueris autem hiis.
- 1.17. C: somniorum [**P**: sompniorum (and throughout).
- 1.18. C: in conspectus nabuchodnosor Cumque [**P**: in conspectus nabuch' regis Cumque.
- 1.19. C: cumque locutus eis [**P**: Cumque eis loquutus.
- 1.19. C: non sunt inuenti de uniuersis tales [**P**: non sunt inuenti tales de uniuersis.
- 2.2. C: harioli [**P**: arioli.
- 2.4. C: in eternum [**P**: in sempiternum.
- 2.5. C: et respondens rex ait [**P**: Et respondit rex et ait.
- 2.7. C: responderunt secundo atque [**P**: responderunt secundo et.
- 2.7. C: et interpretationem illius [**P**: et interpretationem eius.

- 2.10. C: Non est homo super terram [P: Non est homo rex super terram.
- 2.11. C: Sermo enim quem tu rex queris [P: Sermo enim quem tu queris rex.
- 2.11. C: non est cum hominibus conuersatio [P: non est conuersatio cum hominibus.
- 2.12. C: rex in furore et [P: rex in furore uersus et.
- 2.12. C: omnes sapientes babylonis [P: omnes babylonis sapientes.
- 2.15. C: acceperat potestatem [P: potestatem acceperat.
- 2.17. C: annanie (-que erased) [P: ananieque.
- 2.19. C: Tunc danieli per uisionem nocte mysterium [P: Tunc danieli mysterium per uisionem nocte.
- 2.19. C: et locutus ait [P: et ait.
- 2.26. C: Respondit rex et ait [P: Respondit rex et dixit.
- 2.26. C: potes indicare mihi [P: potes mihi indicare.
- 2.27. C: coram rege ait [P: coram rege et ait.
- 2.27. C: sapientes magi [P: sapientes et magi.
- 2.28. C: in nouissimus temporibus [P: nouissimus temporibus.
- 2.31. C: statua sullimus [P: statua sublimis.
- 2.35. C: in fauillas [P: in fauillam.
- 2.35. C: rapta sunt \a/ uento [P: rapta sunt uento.
- 2.35. C: inuentus est eis [P: inuentus est in eis.
- 2.40. C: ferrum [P: ferreum.
- 2.41. C: digitorum partem teste fictilis et partem ferream [P: digitorum testeam partem figuli et partem ferream.
- 2.43. C: non potest misceri [P: misceri non potest.
- 2.44. C: et regnum eius populo alteri [P: et regnum eius alteri populo.
- 2.45. C: quae future sunt [P: quae uentura sunt.
- 2.47. C: sacramentum hoc [P: hoc sacramentum.
- 2.48. C: in sullime [P: in sublime.
- 2.48. C: munera magna et multa [P: munera multa et magna.
- 2.49. C: in foribus regis [P: in foribus regum.
- 3.4. C: populis tribubus [P: populus et tribubus.
- 3.5. C: tube sistule [P: tube et situle.
- 3.5. C: sambuce et psalterii [P: sambuce psalterii.
- 3.5. C: cadentes \A./ omnes populi tribus et linguae adoraunt [P: cadentes adorare.
- 3.6–7 C: omits 3.6–7 (entire) owing to eyeskip [P: all present.
- 3.12. C: uiri iudei [P: iudei uiri.
- 3.15. C: Nunc ego si estis parati [P: Nunc ego sitis parati.
- 3.15. C: eade hora [P: eadem hora.
- 3.16. nabuchodonosor regi [P: regi nabuchodonosor.

- 3.17. C: nos eripere [P: eripere nos.
- 3.17. C: o rex liberare [P: rex liberare.
- 3.18. C: notu, tibi sit [P: notum sit tibi.
- 3.21. C: brachis [P: bractis.
- 3.23. C: in hebraicis uoluminibus [P: in hebraicis libris.
- 3.31. C: iudicio fecisti [P: iudicio tuo fecisti.
- 3.33. C: colebant [P: colunt.
- 3.37. C: et propheta et dux [P: et dux et propheta.
- 3.39. C: et misericordiam [P: misericordiam tuam.
- 3.39. C: holocausto [P: holocausta.
- 3.45. C: sciant [P: scient.
- 3.50. C: omnino \ignis/ [P: omnino ignis.

NB: 3.52–90. It is problematic to compare in detail the two versions of the highly repetitive hymn, as the scribe of C initially made a couple of major omissions through eye-skip (3.55 and 61) but then supplied the passages in the margins, while from 3.61 the scribe of P drastically abbreviated the recurrent and lengthy *laudate* formula. Beyond this there are five discrepancies, as follows.

- 3.52. C: et laudabiles et superexaltatus [P: et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus.
- 3.52. C: in omnibus seculis (= eyeskip to the end of the next phrase, which is accordingly omitted and was never supplied) [P: in saecula ... Et benedictum nomen ... seculis.
- 3.88. C: qui eripuit nos [P: qui eruit nos.
- 3.90. C: laudate et confitemini quia [P: laudate et confitemini ei quia.
- 3.90. C: hucusque non habetur in hebreo [P: hucusque in hebreo non habetur.
- 3.91. C: dixerunt regi [P: regi dixerunt.
- 3.95. C: \pro/positum [P: positum.
- 3.96. C: populus et tribus et lingua [P: populus et lingue et tribus.
- 3.96. C: locuta [P: locutus.
- 3.98. C: populis gentibus et lingus [P: populis et linguis.

#### *Matthew*

- 1.17. C: Omnes ergo generationes ab abraham usque ad dauid generationes sunt xiii\ci/ [P: Omnes ergo generationes ab abraham usque ad dauid generationes quattuordecim.

- 1.18. C: Cum esset desponsata mater eius maria ioseph. [P: Cum esset desponsata mater ihu maria ioseph.
- 3.3. C: Hic est enim qui dictus est per esayam prophetam. [P: Hic est enim de quo dictum est per Ysaïam prophetam.
- 3.6. C: et baptizabantur in iordane ab eo. [P: et baptizabantur ab eo in iordane.
- 3.7. C: a futura ira. [P: a uentura ira.
- 3.9. C: Dico enim uobis quoniam. [P: Dico enim uobis quia.
- 4.16. C: populus qui sedebat in tenebris. [P: populus qui ambulabat in tenebris.
- 4.22. C: illi autem statim relictis retibus. [P: *om.* statim.
- 5.12. C: Gaudete \in illa die [contemporary addition]/ et exultate. [P: Gaudete et exultate.
- 5.17. C: Non ueni soluere sed adimplere. [P: Non ueni soluere legem sed adimplere.
- 5.20. C: nisi abundauerit. [P: nisi habundauerit.
- 5.28. C: quoniam qui uiderit mulierem. [P: quia omnis qui uiderit mulierem. [Stuttgart: quoniam omnis qui uiderit mulierem.
- 5.32. C: excepta fornicationis causa. [P: excepta causa fornicationis.
- 5.32. C: Et qui dimissam a uiro duxerit. [P: Et qui dimissam duxerit.
- 5.39. C: Ego autem dico uobis non resistere malo. [P: *om.*
- 5.39. C: in dexteram maxillam. [P: in dextram maxillam tuam.
- 5.40. C: et ei qui uult tecum iudicio contendere. [P: Et ei qui uult tecum in iudicio contendere.
- 5.41. C: Et quicumque angariauerit te. [P: Et quicumque te angariauerit.
- 5.42. C: Qui petit a te da ei. [P: Qui autem petit a te da ei.
- 5.42. C: et uolenti mutuari. [P: et uolenti mutuare.
- 5.43. C: et odies inimicum tuum. [P: et odio habebis inimicum tuum.
- 5.48. C: Estote ergo uos perfecti. [P: Estote ergo perfecti.
- 6.2. C: noli tuba canere ante te. [P: noli ante te tuba canere.
- 6.5. C: hypocrite. [P: hypocrite tristes.
- 6.6. C: in absconso. [P: in abscondito. [Twice thus; also in 6.18.]
- 6.7. C: sicut ethnici. [P: sicut ethnici faciunt.
- 6.23. C: tenebre sint. [P: tenebre sunt.
- 6.25. C: Nonne anima plus est. [P: Nonne anima uestra plus est.
- 6.30. C: Si autem fenum. [P: Si enim fenum.
- 6.31. C: aut cooperiemur. [P: aut quo operiemur.
- 7.6. C: Nolite dare sanctum canibus. [P: Nolite dare canibus.
- 7.6. C: et conuersi dirumpant uos. [P: et canes conuersi dirumpant uos.
- 7.19. C: excidetur. [P: abscidetur.

- 8.3. C: et extendens manum tetigit eum ihs. [P: et extendens ihs manum tetigit eum.
- 8.4. C: sacerdoti. [P: sacerdotibus.
- 8.18. C: iussit ire trans fretum. [P: iussit discipulos ire transfretum.
- 8.25. C: Et accesserunt et suscitauerunt eum. [P: Et accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius et suscitauerunt eum.
- 8.26. C: et dicit eis. [P: Et dicit eis ihs.
- 8.28. C: Et cum uenisset trans fretum. [P: Et tunc cum uenisset ihs trans fretum.
- 8.30. C: non longe ab illis. [P: non longe ab eis.
- 8.31. C: Si eicis nos mitte. [P: Si eicis nos hinc mitte.
- 8.32. C: Et ecce impetus uno abiit. [P: Et ecce magno impetus abiit.  
[Stuttgart: Et ecce impetus abiit.



## THE MINIATURISATION OF BIBLE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Chiara Ruzzier

Biblical production in the thirteenth century is characterised by the development of two types of books that completely differ from one another in both their format and intended use. These are: the glossed Bible,<sup>1</sup> composed of numerous large-size volumes that circulated not only as a long set of volumes making up a complete Bible but also as individual books or groups of books; and the portable Bible, consisting of a single small volume, copies of which were disseminated throughout Europe in their thousands. If portable Bibles have attracted the attention of scholars for their decoration and their text, their strictly physical attributes and the techniques used to make this type of book have been up to now mostly overlooked.<sup>2</sup> However, these innovative features are the very elements that can highlight the production mechanisms of the codex. Although there are examples in earlier centuries, it is only in the thirteenth century that the single-volume format was adopted as standard. These new pandects became the predominant format throughout the western Christian world and many of these one-volume Bibles were small enough to be easily carried within a saddle bag or even a pocket.

The results that are discussed here are the outcome of a census of small-size biblical manuscripts, almost comprehensive in scope, which has led to the development of a database including nearly 1800 items.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Although most of the text of the *Glossa Ordinaria* was created in the twelfth century, the majority of surviving manuscripts date from the thirteenth century. See Mark Zier, "The Development of the Glossa Ordinaria to the Bible in the Thirteenth Century: The Evidence from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris" in *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi. Convegno della Società Internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL) Florence, 1-2 giugno 2001*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi (Florence, 2004), pp. 155-84, at pp. 157-58.

<sup>2</sup> For a general introduction to portable Bibles see de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 114-39; see also Josephine Case Schnurman, *Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth century with Special Reference to the Copying of the Bible*, unpublished B.Litt. Thesis (Oxford, 1960), and Rosanna Miriello, "La Bibbia portatile di origine italiana del XIII secolo. Brevi considerazioni e alcuni esempi" in *La Bibbia del XIII Secolo*, pp. 47-77.

<sup>3</sup> These results are based on the evidence presented in my PhD thesis: *Entre Université et Ordres mendiants. La miniaturisation de la Bible au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Université Paris 1

For purposes of clarity, it should be stated that there is no definition of a portable Bible that establishes a precise size limit. Therefore, I decided to extend the census to include all complete Bibles with overall dimensions of less than 450 mm. (This figure is the sum of the page height and width, a measurement which is known as the *taille* in quantitative codicology; this measurement is used here when discussing the size of manuscripts.) This choice enabled me to observe the incidence of size vis-à-vis the physical attributes of the manuscript, on the one hand, and the type of biblical text, on the other. Nevertheless, my analysis focuses on Bibles measuring less than 380 mm. Obviously, it is an arbitrary choice, that does, however, allow me to include in the corpus both extremely small Bibles and those that are slightly bigger (used, most probably, for preaching and studying). These latter Bibles, although not very small, would have still been easy to carry in a saddle bag.<sup>4</sup>

I have directly examined 357 of these Bibles (20% of the census) and I have carried out a statistical analysis of the data collected. This analysis is based on the examination of two groups of data. The larger group, which includes manuscripts known to me only through catalogue descriptions, is the basis for a large-scale study of a limited number of characteristics. The smaller group of Bibles examined directly supports an in-depth study of textual and material aspects. The large number of surviving portable Bibles makes them ideal for adopting a quantitative and comparative approach to the analysis, and, above all, allows me to highlight the different modalities of textual compression developed in the three main countries where portable Bibles were produced: France, Italy and England.<sup>5</sup>

The localisation of the manuscripts in this study requires further explanation: for the larger group, I accepted the places of origin given by the catalogues, even if the older catalogues are sometimes unreliable

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Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2010; for the methodological basis of this research see pp. 42–50, 55–68.

<sup>4</sup> Some references to *biblie portatiles* present in mediaeval inventories are in accordance with the size limit selected, e.g. the Bible described as “Biblia integra cum expositione nominum Hebreorum secundum Remigium, portatilis, littera parisina, in columnis, carta bona, tabulis et corio rubeo obvoluta” in Giovanna Cantoni Alzati, *La Biblioteca di S. Giustina a Padova. Libri e cultura presso i benedettini padovani in età umanistica*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 48 (Padua, 1982), p. 70. This manuscript has been identified with Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS I. 60 which measures 209 × 140 mm.

<sup>5</sup> The production of portable Bibles outside these areas is extremely small and starts later, with the exception of Spain. Fifteen portable Bibles of Spanish origin have been identified, which copy the Parisian model to various extents. The limited availability of Spanish catalogues makes it impossible to evaluate the magnitude of production in Spain, which has therefore been excluded for now from my analysis.

concerning origin and date.<sup>6</sup> In particular, the non-Parisian production has often been underestimated in the past. Therefore the place of origin was corrected when necessary during the direct analysis of the manuscripts; a comparison between the geographical distribution of the two groups indicates that the two distributions differ by only a few percentage points. The small number of manuscripts that still cannot be localised, due to the high standardisation of the production, were excluded from comparative analysis. In a second phase, statistical analysis of data from the smaller group made it possible to formulate criteria for localisation based on material attributes, in addition to textual and decorative aspects.

The particular features that characterise the production of this type of medieval book can be viewed from several perspectives. First, in terms of numbers: there are over 1,500 portable Bibles,<sup>7</sup> defined here as Bibles with an overall size of less than 380 mm, as currently preserved, and these manuscripts account for at least half of the entire thirteenth-century production of complete Bibles.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, from a textual point of view: portable Bibles have been seen as a means for disseminating the new biblical text, the Paris Bible.<sup>9</sup> Finally, from a material perspective: the desire to miniaturise the Bible, to make it handier and easier to carry, required the integration of new handicraft techniques and new types of layout. Such innovations made it possible to reduce the whole biblical text into a single volume, smaller in size than a modern paperback. Indeed, the overall dimensions of these new Bibles could be reduced to as little as 250 mm.

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<sup>6</sup> However, within a quantitative analysis, a small number of errors among many hundreds of entries is statistically insignificant.

<sup>7</sup> By assuming a survival rate of 4.2% (in the absence of an estimation of the survival rate of medieval manuscripts, I am applying here the hypothetical survival rate of incubula developed by Uwe Neddermeyer) I suggest that the output of portable Bibles could have exceeded 30,000 copies. See Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und Qualitative Aspekte*, I. Text II. Anlagen, Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv München 61 (Wiesbaden, 1998), pp. 72–81.

<sup>8</sup> According to a partial census of extant complete Bibles of the thirteenth century that I have conducted consulting all catalogues of French libraries, portable Bibles represent about 53.5% of all surviving complete thirteenth-century Bibles.

<sup>9</sup> In relation to the “Paris Bible” I cite only Laura Light’s papers, which also provide some discussion of portable Bibles: Laura Light, “Versions et révisions du texte biblique” in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, Bible de tous les temps 4 (Paris, 1984), pp. 55–93, at 75–93; eadem, “The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy”, *Viator* 18 (1987), 275–88; eadem, “French Bibles c. 1200–30: a New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible” in *The Early Medieval Bible. Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155–76.

The miniaturisation of the Bible required an overall restructuring of the physical attributes of the book, including the parchment, the quire structure, the layout, and the script. The size of script could be reduced to as little as one millimetre. Material and graphic innovations were introduced to reduce the size without jeopardising the functionality of the book and the legibility of the written page. It is important to underline that these new techniques were not used to produce a few deluxe copies; on the contrary, they were applied widely to produce a remarkable number of Bibles. This rapid production was possible thanks to the sophisticated system of commercial manufacture that developed in Paris and in other university towns. The production of University books in particular – most probably including the Bible – depended on the *pecia* system, which was the only solution that made it possible to reproduce a great number of manuscripts in a very short time starting from a limited number of exemplars.<sup>10</sup>

In this paper, I will focus on an analysis of the material aspects of the portable Bible, a topic that has largely been neglected in studies of this type of book up to now. Therefore, I will leave aside questions concerning the text, as well as the decoration and the dissemination of portable Bibles, themes that would be worthy of a separate in-depth analysis. Nevertheless, I would like to call attention to the fact that, although in the majority of cases portable Bibles report the Paris Bible text or a text with a strong Parisian influence, the correspondence of textual innovations with the reduction in size is by no means absolute,<sup>11</sup> nor does it necessarily mean

<sup>10</sup> I have found no evidence to support the dissemination of the biblical text through the *pecia* system in the portable Bibles that I have consulted. Nevertheless, since copying such a lengthy text might have taken as long as two years, it is highly improbable that there could have been sufficient exemplars including the entire Bible to satisfy the tremendous demand of scribes, especially in Paris in 1220s–1250s, when Bible production reached its peak. See in particular Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, “The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–ca. 1350” in *La production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge. Exemplar et pecia, Actes du symposium tenu au Collegio San Bonaventura de Grottaferrata en mai 1983*, ed. Jacques Henri Bataillon, Bertrand Guyot and Richard H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), pp. 41–114, at pp. 57–58. For biblical manuscripts (none a small portable Bible) that include evidence of *pecia*, see Giovanna Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, *Textes et études du Moyen Âge* 29 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 318–19.

<sup>11</sup> Only 30% of the portable Bibles examined manuscripts contain the Paris Bible text; 4% use an archaic text; 12% include only the modern chapter divisions; more than half (53%) were written using a mixed text which, in addition to the modern chapter divisions, integrates the textual criteria of the Paris Bible in various ways (new order of biblical books and the characteristic set of prologues). The use of the Parisian text seems, in any case, correlated with the book size. In the corpus the use of the Parisian text decreases progressively from 60% in manuscripts of smaller size (size below 230 mm) to 24% in those of a bigger size (size between 380 and 450 mm).

that the Bibles were written in Paris. In fact, some portable Bibles include a non-Parisian text.<sup>12</sup> These have been found mainly in Italy and in England, but also in France, mostly dating from the first half of the century. This confirms that portable Bibles were needed across Europe, independent of different textual traditions, and can be analysed, as they are here, without considering their biblical text.

Although half of the Bibles in the sample whose place of production has been determined<sup>13</sup> are of French, and mainly Parisian,<sup>14</sup> origin (chart 1), the manuscript census and analysis have shed light on the importance of English (20%) and Italian Bibles (16%). It should also be pointed

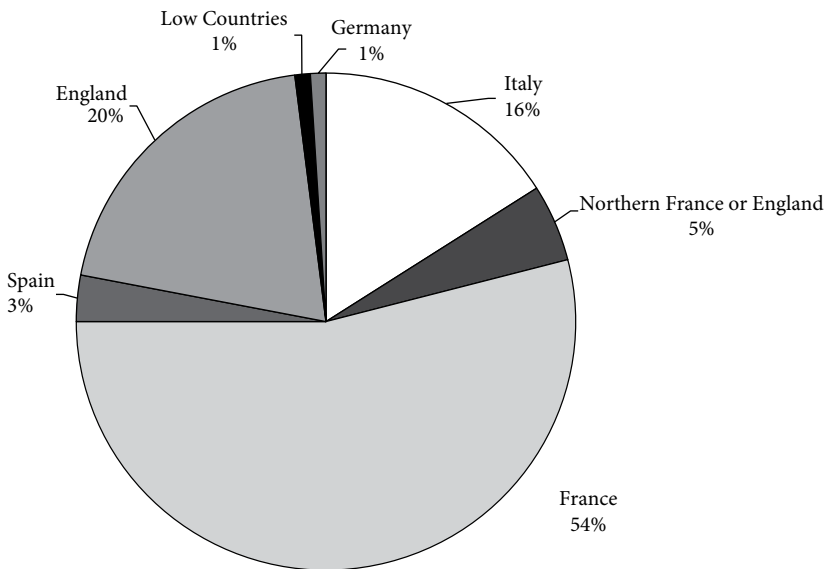


Chart 1. Place of origin of portable Bibles.

<sup>12</sup> In my corpus, there are fourteen portable Bibles that do not include any characteristics of the Paris Bible, not even the modern chapter divisions; among these, e.g., of Parisian origin, BnF, MS lat. 16267 (162 × 115 mm), and of Italian origin BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6026 (187 × 130 mm).

<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, only 2% of the manuscripts of my census have a colophon and any mention of the place of origin is very rare.

<sup>14</sup> It seems that there were no other centres of production of portable Bibles in France that are as important as Paris. Nevertheless, the exact localisation of many manuscripts remains uncertain in the absence of objective indicators, especially if such manuscripts do not have historiated initials and report a text that mixes ancient and modern characteristics. Still I believe it probable that the majority of manuscripts that have been classified as French are of Parisian origin.

out that my research indicates that both the percentages of English production and, to an even greater extent, of Italian production are underestimated, because cataloguers rarely note down the place of production when it is not Paris itself. In fact, among the Bibles that I have directly consulted the percentage of Italian manuscripts rises considerably, reaching 26%. The important localities for the copying of Bibles in Italy were much more dispersed than in France, and were concentrated primarily in the North of the country, in particular in the Veneto (twenty-five manuscripts), and to a lesser extent in Naples (seven manuscripts). In Bologna, in contrast, very few small-format Bibles were produced, despite the fact that it was an important centre for the copying of Bibles. These groups of manuscripts differ from the Parisian production both in their biblical text<sup>15</sup> and in their physical attributes, as I will discuss later on.

The production of portable Bibles began during the third decade of the thirteenth century (chart 2),<sup>16</sup> increased significantly up to the middle of the century, reached its peak during the second half and then rapidly collapsed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Compared to the French and English production, which were nearly contemporaneous, the Italian production started slightly later and developed mainly during the second half of the thirteenth century.

The complete abandonment of the production of portable Bibles at the end of the century can possibly be explained by the very long usable lifetime of these objects: Bibles, and indeed most medieval manuscripts, were

<sup>15</sup> In reference to the characteristics of the biblical text of Italian manuscripts, see in particular Sabina Magrini, "Production and Use of Latin Bible Manuscripts in Italy during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Manuscripta* 51/2 (2007), 209–57 and Guy Lobrichon, "Pour l'étude de la tradition et du texte de la Vulgate latine en Italie (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)" in *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento, Atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 8–9 novembre 1996*, ed. Lino Leonardi, *Millennio Medievale* 10 (Firenze, 1998), pp. 23–33; repr. in Guy Lobrichon, *La Bible au moyen âge* (Paris, 2003), pp. 173–80.

<sup>16</sup> The oldest dated Bible of relatively small size seems to be New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.163 (216 × 162 mm), dated 1229, followed by the Dole, BM, MS 15 (162 × 108 mm), dated 1234, which is also the first dated copy that includes the text of the Paris Bible. The first portable Bible of Italian origin dates back to 1250: BAV, MS Ottob. Lat. 532 (154 × 109 mm). Unfortunately, dating the Bibles included in this study is difficult, especially since their production was so standardised and so concentrated over a short time-span; only 1.3% of the recorded manuscripts include a date. This dating ratio corresponds to the average one observed in the thirteenth century; see Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, "Les fluctuations de la production manuscrite à la lumière de l'histoire de la fin du Moyen Âge", *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1979), 51–75, repr. in *La face cachée du livre médiéval. L'histoire du livre vue par Ezio Ornato, ses amis et ses collègues* (Rome, 1997), pp. 179–95, at pp. 182–85.

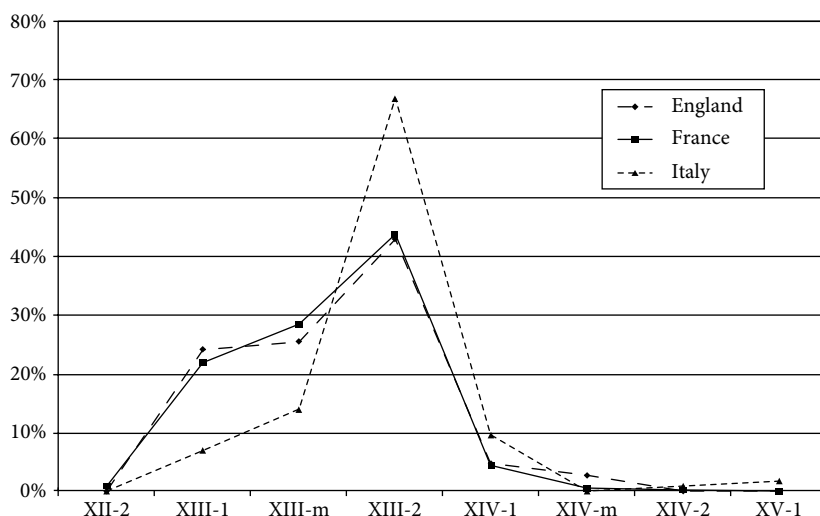


Chart 2. Production period according to place of origin (% of production per each country).

designed to last a long time, and were passed on from generation to generation. When the number of potential owners stabilised or decreased, the number of Bibles already circulating became sufficient to meet the demand. The long lists of possession notes from the fourteenth and fifteenth century confirm the fact that many Bibles were used for centuries. Moreover, it is also true that Bible production almost parallels the trend observed in global manuscript production, which reaches its peak in the thirteenth century, and decreases during the second half of fourteenth century due to the economic recession and the plague.<sup>17</sup> The production of portable Bibles, however, presents peculiar features: an explosion in output, followed by a sudden collapse some decades before that of manuscript production in general.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, this collapse was not followed by

<sup>17</sup> The phenomenon is discussed in Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Paris, 1980), pp. 84–109 and Bozzolo and Ornato, “Les fluctuations”, pp. 188–95. In addition, according to Bozzolo and Ornato nearly 50% of the biblical manuscripts still extant date back to the thirteenth century (see Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit*, p. 53).

<sup>18</sup> These different patterns are probably to be linked with the stabilisation, in the late thirteenth century, of the number of mendicant Friars, probably the main users of these manuscripts. See Chiara Ruzzier, “Des *armaria* aux besaces. La mutation de la Bible au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle” in *Les usages sociaux de la Bible, XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles; Cahiers Électroniques d'Histoire Textuelle du LAMOP* 3 (2010, first online edition, 2011), 73–111. See also Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit*, pp. 93–96.

the recovery in output in the fifteenth century that is observable in manuscript making as a whole.

ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPTS<sup>19</sup>

The groups of French, Italian and English origin present some disparities in term of size (chart 3). The clearest contrast is between France and Italy, while England occupies an intermediate position. France shows a clear preference for the “pocketbook” format, measuring less than 280 mm, while relatively bigger formats, which we could call “saddle-bag” Bibles, are much less common. If we restrict our analysis to Bibles of known Parisian origin among size-classes, there is an evident preference for smaller-size formats: 70% of manuscripts of the corpus are below 330 mm, with a significant preference for the size-class of 230–280 mm. The data curve referring to Italy is practically the opposite: none of the manuscripts is really small and the majority belongs to the size-class of 281–330 mm. Finally, in England a few very small book were produced, but the country seems not to show any particular preference for a specific size.

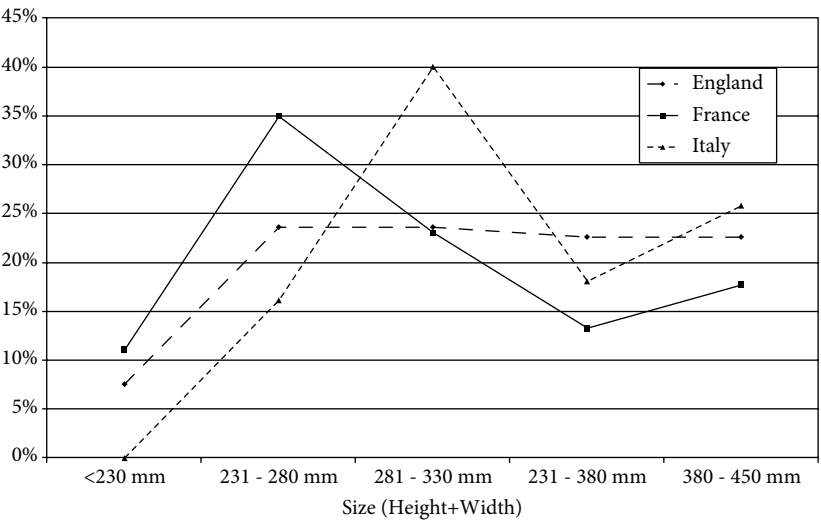


Chart 3. Distribution of manuscripts according to size and place of origin.

<sup>19</sup> This analysis is based only on the 357 Bibles that I have seen in person.



Although the variation in size may have been partly due to local preference (indeed, it is not at all improbable that tiny Bibles became a fashion in Paris), the differences in dimensions can also be explained by the handicraft practices unique to each country. In fact, given that the biblical text was always, or nearly, the same length,<sup>20</sup> and that the miniaturisation of the text faced clear physical limits, the question of why different geographical regions preferred certain sizes is an important one.

In order better to understand the mechanisms that lay behind the variations in size, we need to consider the fact that the main element which determines the dimensions of a manuscript is the number of leaves, and that these two parameters – i.e. number of leaves and the overall size – are interdependent. In the absence of other types of restrictions, the aim of the artisan was to make a manuscript that was neither too thick nor too thin for its size.<sup>21</sup> The two common manuscript formats are small manuscripts with few leaves and large manuscripts with many leaves. This latter type was normally adopted for longer texts; Carolingian Bibles, and the giant Bibles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are excellent examples.

In the case of portable Bibles, in contrast, the manuscripts are very small, but they include a very large number of leaves.<sup>22</sup> The average number of leaves in the *corpus* is in fact 492, but some examples include as many as 600–700. These are very high figures compared to those found in “ordinary” types of texts, which might include an average of between 100 and 200 leaves. Moreover, in the case of small Bibles, the relationship between the size of the manuscript and the number of leaves is reversed: the smaller the size of the book, the larger the number of leaves (table 1). As a result, portable Bibles of Italian origin, which are generally larger in size, have fewer leaves (420 on average), contrasting with those of French origin, which are smaller and have a greater number of leaves (538 on average) (table 2). We need to keep in mind that, in general, an increase in the number of leaves leads automatically to a significant increase in the thickness of the book, unless the text is divided into two volumes. This latter

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<sup>20</sup> Minor variations in length, due to the presence or absence of the *Oratio Manasse* and of the third book of Esdras, do not have a statistical influence in the study of the physical construction of the manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> See primarily Denis Muzerelle and Ezio Ornato, “La terza dimensione del libro. Aspetti codicologici della pluritestualità” in *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cassino 14–17 maggio 2003)*, ed. Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere, Segno e testo 2 (Cassino, 2004), pp. 43–74.

<sup>22</sup> The only other exception among the manuscript production is that of Breviaries.

Table 1. Relation between size and number of leaves.

Size	<300 leaves	301–450 leaves	451–600 leaves	>600 leaves	Total
<230 mm	0,0%	7,5%	46,8%	45,7%	100,0%
231–280 mm	0,3%	20,2%	52,8%	26,7%	100,0%
281–330 mm	2,4%	52,1%	36,3%	9,2%	100,0%
331–380 mm	4,7%	50,0%	40,2%	5,1%	100,0%
380–450 mm	1,3%	56,3%	37,4%	5,0%	100,0%
All sizes	1,8%	40,0%	42,7%	15,5%	100,0%

Table 2. Average number of leaves according to size and place of origin.

Size	England	France	Italy	Other countries or unknown origin	Total
<230 mm	689	618		570	620
231–280 mm	510	569	427	513	531
281–330 mm	437	511	392	441	449
331–380 mm	472	482	443	496	473
381–450 mm	468	488	451	391	463
All sizes	481	538	420	471	492

option was not preferred by readers, and was therefore only rarely adopted.<sup>23</sup> The solution to this problem was to use very thin parchment: in this way it was possible to increase the number of the leaves in a book without making the book excessively thick. This procedure compensated for the decrease in size by increasing the overall space available. Another possible solution was to accept a slightly bigger size, and thus to limit the number of leaves.

The relationship between the average number of leaves and the place of origin corresponds, in fact, to the different thickness of parchment made in the three countries studied here: very thin in Paris, average thickness in England, and relatively thick in Italy.<sup>24</sup> This is explained by the fact that to

<sup>23</sup> Only 1.4% of the portable Bibles in the corpus are divided into two or three volumes.

<sup>24</sup> The thickness has been measured using a micrometre on a sample of thirty-nine manuscripts. The average measure obtained was of 0.088 mm, with a minimum of 0.064 mm recorded from smaller manuscripts of Parisian origin. The figures used for the rest of

the north of the Alps, parchment was probably made from calf skins, which were highly processed on both sides to produce very thin leaves, rendered soft to the touch, white in colour and with no contrast between the hair side and the flesh side. In Italy, by contrast, we find a thicker and more rigid parchment, often yellowish in colour and with a marked contrast between the two sides, obtained probably from goat skin. Therefore, it is the relatively thicker parchment in Italy which prevented an increase in the number of leaves, and therefore made it impossible to produce extremely small Bibles.

The thickness of the parchment and the number of leaves also influenced the quire structure. In fact, in order to ensure a solid long-lasting binding with numerous very thin leaves, it was important to adopt a structure that could ensure greater stability than the traditional quaternions (four bifolia). This was achieved by increasing the number of bifolia *per* quire, since if the parchment is too thin and there are too few bifolia, the action of sewing can cause the loss of leaves. During the thirteenth century, quaternions were progressively dropped in favour of senions (six bifolia) or of even thicker structures, which are more stable and possibly also saved the bookbinder time.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the type of quire used depended essentially on the thickness of the parchment and, consequently, it is also linked to the manuscript size and the number of leaves. In particular, the use of quires of twelve bifolia is seen almost invariably in Bibles that include more than 600 leaves, but it is already a common feature in manuscripts with more than 500 leaves. Hence, it is only in France that we often find quires of twelve bifolia (table 3). In Italy, by contrast, we find mainly senions and, less frequently, quinions (five bifolia), which in

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the corpus are only an estimate. The terms “thin” and “thick” have to be interpreted within the context of our type of book production: even the thickest parchment of a portable Bible will appear extremely thin compared with that of a larger manuscript. The studies to date conducted on the thickness of parchment in fact list measurements which are always more than 0.14 mm. See in particular Francesco Bianchi, Donatella Buovolo, M. Giovanna De’ Caterina, Marilena Maniaci, Lucia Negrini, Ezio Ornato, Marco Palma and Anna Pannega, “Facteurs de variations de l’épaisseur du parchemin italien du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle” in *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, ed. Marilena Maniaci and Paola Franca Munafò, Studi e Testi 357–358 (Vatican City, 1993), pp. 95–184 ; repr. in *La face cachée*, pp. 275–345.

<sup>25</sup> For an overall analysis of quires of the late Middle Ages, see Paola Busonero, “La fascicolazione del manoscritto nel basso Medioevo” in *La fabbrica del codice. Materiali per la storia del libro nel tardo Medioevo*, ed. eadem, Maria Antonietta Casagrande Mazzoli, Luciana Devoti and Ezio Ornato (Rome, 1999), pp. 33–139. Concerning the factors behind the choice of a quire structure and for a few hypotheses concerning portable Bibles, see Ezio Ornato, *Apologia dell’apogeo. Divagazioni sulla storia del libro nel tardo medioevo* (Rome, 2000), pp. 51–77.

Table 3. Quire structure according to place of origin.

Quire (most common structure)	England	France	Italy	Other countries or unknown origin	Total
Quinions		1	14	1	16
	0,0%	0,9%	17,1%	1,7%	5,4%
Senions	16	19	60	28	123
	42,1%	16,4%	73,2%	46,7%	41,6%
Quires of 8 bifolia	14	17	5	14	50
	36,8%	14,7%	6,1%	23,3%	16,9%
Quires of 10 bifolia	7	11	2	9	29
	18,4%	9,5%	2,4%	15,0%	9,8%
Quires of 12 bifolia	1	68	1	8	78
	2,6%	58,6%	1,2%	13,3%	26,4%
Total	38	116	82	60	296
Total %	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

the thirteenth century can be considered a fairly reliable indicator of Italian origin. Lastly, in England the structures preferred for smaller manuscripts were the quires of eight or ten bifolia. The quire of eight bifolia seems to be an intermediate solution, characteristic of England, which was well suited to the intermediate parchment thickness and manuscript size used in this country. Quires of eight bifolia can also be found in France, but only in larger manuscripts; therefore, when used in portable Bibles, they are a clear indication of English origin. Thus, as a result of my analysis, it emerges that the type of quires is an important factor in establishing the origin of a portable Bible.<sup>26</sup>

An increase in the number of bifolia *per* quire also led to the elaboration of new techniques including the use of leaf signatures, which were especially important in the workshops of commercial illuminators and

<sup>26</sup> The origin of Bibles used in the analysis was never determined only from the quire structure. Instead, it is the quantitative analysis that has highlighted the importance of this factor. Changes in the quire structure depending on the origin of manuscripts also appear, regardless of the type text, in the study of Paola Busonero, "La fascicolazione del manoscritto", pp. 50–61.

bookbinders, where many similar manuscripts were present at the same time, to avoid confusion among copies.<sup>27</sup> In particular, a primitive leaf and quire signature is typical of Parisian production (indeed, it is unique to Paris). These signatures consisted of letters, in alphabetical sequence, for each leaf in the first half of the quire, and marks, each different, labelling each quire. The system kept track of the order of the leaves within a quire but did not keep track of the order of the quires. These primitive leaf and quire signatures are found in 50% of manuscripts with longer quires (eight bifolia or more), and we can suppose that their absence in the remaining 50% of manuscripts may be due to trimming. I have found no primitive leaf and quire signature in quires structured in senions or quinions. This suggests that they were not in use in Italy – where the percentage of catch-words is much higher.

The data indicate that portable Bibles did not usually have a modular structure. This is a structure – observed by Marilena Maniaci in the so-called Atlantic or Atlas Bibles<sup>28</sup> – in which the end of quires corresponds with the end of textual units. The aim was to isolate, through *caesurae*, blocks of biblical books which have a homogeneous content. This practice is rarely applied to biblical production in the thirteenth century, and is completely absent in the portable Bibles of Parisian origin where the text flows continuously from St. Jerome's general prologue to the end of the Apocalypse, and often to the end of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names. However, it is possible to find some *caesurae* in French Bibles of non-Parisian origin at the beginning and/or at the end of the book of Psalms, between the Old and the New Testament and before the Interpretations of the Hebrew Names. I have noticed that the distribution of such *caesurae* represents an important indicator of the origin of a manuscript: the most common *caesura* in all countries is that which isolates the extra-Biblical text of the glossary (present in 56% of cases); this is followed by a *caesura* between the Psalms and the Proverbs (35% of cases), which, in theory, could lead to a division of the biblical text into two volumes. A *caesura* of this type is present in 56% of the manuscripts of Italian origin, but in only 27% of manuscripts of French and English origin. Finally, it is the presence

<sup>27</sup> See Patricia D. Stirnemann, "Nouvelles pratiques en matière d'enluminure au temps de Philippe Auguste" in *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps des mutations, Actes du Colloque international organisé par le C.N.R.S. (Paris, 29 septembre – 4 octobre 1980)*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 955–80, at pp. 959–60.

<sup>28</sup> See Marilena Maniaci, "La struttura delle Bibbie atlantiche" in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione.*, ed. eadem and Giulia Orofino (Milan, 2000), pp. 47–60.

Table 4. Italian and English deviation in (difference of) average number of leaves with respect to the French production.

Size	France	Italian deviation	English deviation
<230 mm	618		+10%
231–280 mm	566	–24%	–10%
281–330 mm	504	–21%	–13%
331–380 mm	482	–16%	–1%
381–450 mm	491	–10%	–9%
All sizes	535	–22%	–9%

of a *caesura* between the Old and New Testaments which turns out to be significant: it appears in 61% of Bibles of Italian origin, but only in 12% and 23% of French and English Bibles, respectively, and is thus an important indication of origin.

Returning to the problem of the miniaturisation of the biblical text, we can see in table four that when Bibles of the same sizes are compared, the average number of leaves is systematically smaller in Italy (about 22% fewer) than in France, and that the difference in number of leaves between these two countries is more significant in manuscripts that are smaller than 330 mm. In larger manuscripts, by contrast, there is no correlation between geographical differences and the average number of leaves. What are the reasons for these variations? It seems clear that increasing the number of leaves was not by itself sufficient to produce the biblical text as a portable book. The second device used concerns the layout of the page. Differences in layout could theoretically be applied at three levels: 1) increasing the dimensions of the written space in relation to the dimension of the page;<sup>29</sup> 2) compressing the writing within the written space by increasing the number of lines – depending therefore, on the unit of ruling (i.e. the average height of a line area, measured in millimetres) and on the size of the writing; and 3) acting on the length of the text itself, by using abbreviations.

<sup>29</sup> One should note that nearly all portable Bibles have a text written in two columns, a solution widely used in the thirteenth century, which allowed for an increase in the density of graphic signs on one page without compromising the legibility of the text. For an analysis of the functional needs which lay at the basis of such a choice, see Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit*, pp. 318–30. Nevertheless, I have reviewed more than ten portable Bibles copied in a single column.

It is important to highlight that the mechanism of these dynamics is identical in all the countries studied here; what varies according to the place of production is the material condition. For example, if the number of leaves can be increased, according to preference, thanks to thin enough parchment, one can have fewer restrictions in filling the page. In France, for the same size manuscripts, producers were free to choose between “rarefied”, that is non-densely written manuscripts with many leaves, and manuscripts with fewer leaves (which were consequently less expensive, since less parchment was needed) but with a more densely packed written space (table 5). In Italy, the material constrictions were more severe: given

Table 5. Average number of lines and average unit of ruling according to place of origin.

Size		England	France	Italy	Total
<230 mm	Average number of lines	40	46		45
	Average unit of ruling	2,28	2,06		2,10
231–280 mm	Average number of lines	46	47	52	48
	Average unit of ruling	2,27	2,23	2,08	2,21
281–330 mm	Average number of lines	53	49	54	51
	Average unit of ruling	2,43	2,62	2,25	2,45
331–380 mm	Average number of lines	50	50	52	51
	Average unit of ruling	2,89	2,95	2,81	2,88
381–450 mm	Average number of lines	46	50	51	50
	Average unit of ruling	3,29	3,35	3,13	3,26
Total average number of lines		49	48	53	50
Total average unit of ruling		2,64	2,58	2,57	2,58

the use of thicker parchment, it was not possible to increase the number of leaves, since this would result in a manuscript that was too bulky. An available option, however, was to expand the dimensions of the written area (*noir*) in relation to the dimensions of the whole leaf. Nevertheless, this solution was not adopted in Italy,<sup>30</sup> probably because the outcome would have been aesthetically poor and far less advantageous in terms of gaining space, than reducing the size of the writing.<sup>31</sup> Choosing to reduce the size of the writing, in fact, leads to increasing the number of lines per page. An intensive use of abbreviations also allowed a further decrease in the length of the text.<sup>32</sup>

In the case of French and Italian Bibles, two opposite solutions were adopted. The outcomes of these different solutions are especially evident in Bibles that are smaller than 280 mm. As examples of the different solutions adopted in the two countries, one can compare BnF, MS lat. 211 (167 × 111 mm) and BnF, MS lat. 232 (169 × 112 mm) (figures 4.1–2). The two Bibles, the former of Parisian origin and the latter of Italian origin (coming most probably from Padua or Venice), were both produced to high standards and are nearly the same size. Nevertheless, the written area of the Italian Bible contains fifty-three lines, while that of the Parisian one contains “only” forty-four. In any case, as the book size increases, the differences between the countries vanish and the solutions adopted everywhere are more varied. The reason for this trend is that there is a tendency to go back to a more traditional type of manuscript, where the material constrictions do not exercise the same pressure as is the case in extremely small manuscripts. Outside the context of portable manuscripts, it was possible to choose whether to give preference to a rarefied page and accept a heavy manuscript or the opposite.

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<sup>30</sup> On the contrary, in the Italian manuscripts, the ratio of written space compared to the rest of the page turns out to be slightly lower than the average of my corpus, which is 42%. This figure is in any case lower than the average reported in the manuscripts of French origin from the thirteenth century (between 45% and 50%). Concerning this issue, see mainly Carla Bozzolo, Dominique Coq, Denis Muzerelle and Ezio Ornato, “Noir et blanc. Premiers résultats d’une enquête sur la mise en page dans le livre médiéval” in *Il libro e il testo. Atti del convegno internazionale (Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982)*, ed. Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli (Urbino, 1984), pp. 195–221; repr. in *La face cachée*, pp. 473–508.

<sup>31</sup> Due to a greater reduction in the size of the text, the average number of characters per line is systematically higher in the Italian Bibles (on average 12% more) than in the French ones of the same size.

<sup>32</sup> According to a survey conducted on a fixed sequence of text, it emerges that Italian Bibles use 9% more abbreviated words than the French ones.



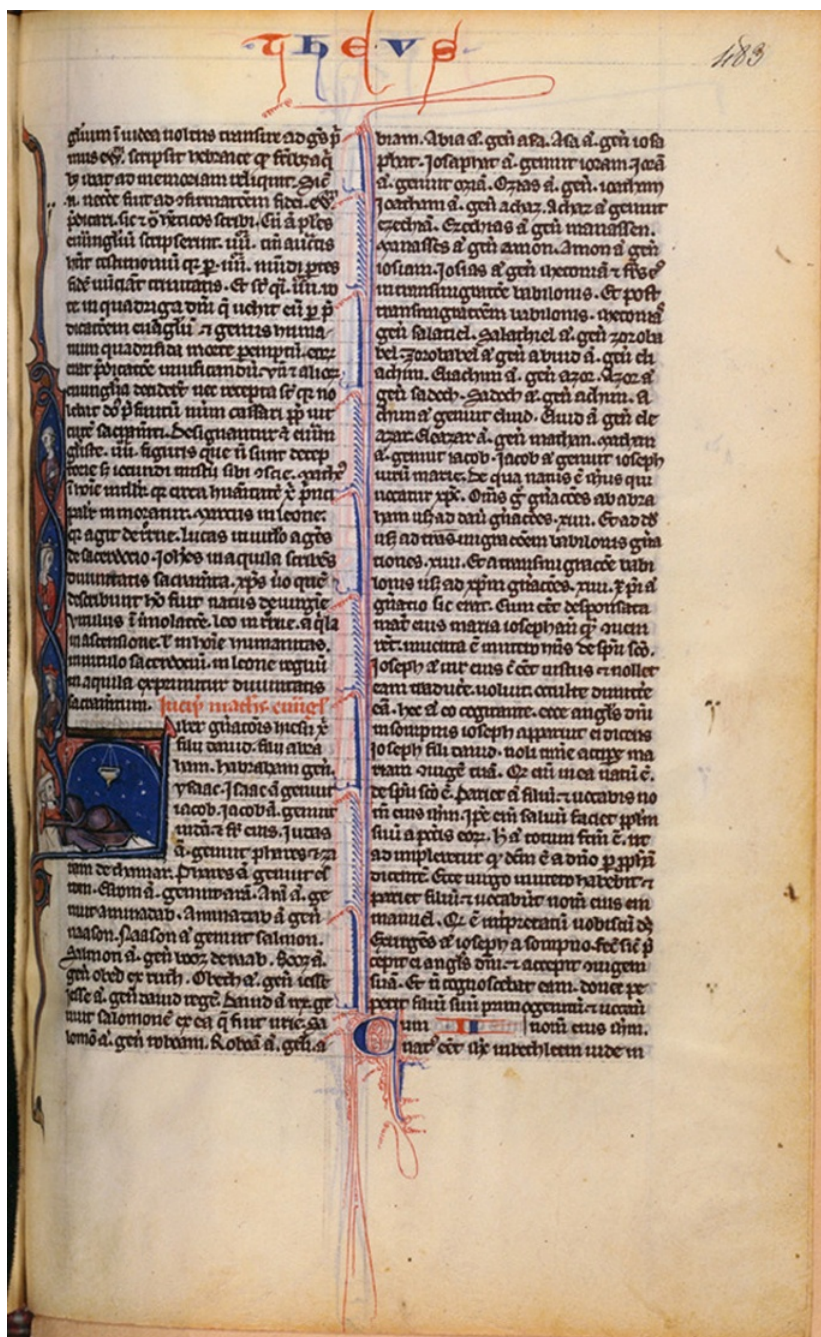


Figure 4.1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 211, fol. 483r.



Figure 4.2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 232, fol. 193r.

It is worth asking whether France or Italy found the optimal solution. On the one hand, it seems that the French solution is more satisfactory from the point of view of aesthetics and legibility. To preserve a rarefied page and a text of an acceptable size, artisans found the means to reduce the thickness of the parchment, and consequently were able to increase the number of leaves without compromising the functionality and solidity of the book. On the other hand, we need to recognise that despite the need to exploit as much of the available surface-area as possible, the Italian page offers an acceptable compromise between the density of the page and its legibility. In addition, we should not forget that a smaller quantity of thicker parchment would have definitely been less costly.

English production nearly always positions itself between the French and the Italian solutions. Nevertheless, the outcomes in England are often closer to the former than to the latter, especially where the nature of parchment is concerned. In other aspects, which are less closely linked to the material restrictions, including the type of ruling patterns and the *mise en texte*, English Bibles do exhibit some unique characteristics. Although it goes beyond the limits of this survey to discuss these in depth, they include ruling with a thick brown plummet, frequent use of vertical and horizontal marginal lines, and frequent use of the colour blue for running titles and chapter numbers.

Finally, as far as the production of Bibles of known Parisian origin is concerned, the solutions adopted stand out both for their specific features and for their homogeneity. It is in Paris, in fact, that one can find the most innovative and refined skills, both concerning the processing of parchment and the making of quires, and consequently the density of the written space was not brought to an extreme. On the contrary, the preference for limiting the density of the page necessarily led to wasting a certain amount of parchment – which is fully compatible with the wealth associated with most of this production. The homogeneity and the innovations are indicators of a “mass-production”, probably found within the circles of the Parisian stationers from ca. 1230–40. This is confirmed by the fact that most of the material innovations which we have discussed are directly correlated with the text of the Paris Bible.<sup>33</sup>

Given this evidence, it is time to ask ourselves whether, at least from the strictly material point of view, there were other localities with productions

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<sup>33</sup> Of the Bibles of the corpus reporting the text of the Paris Bible, 94% have quires with more than six bifolia; quires of this size are totally absent in manuscripts having an archaic text or only the modern chapter divisions.

as standardised as that in Paris. On the one hand, the answer is no: from a material point of view, no other group of manuscripts is as easily identifiable as the Parisian one, nor is there one that presents such innovative features. On the other hand, we need to recognise that elsewhere producers seem to have been inspired by the Parisian model, without slavishly copying it, and achieved outputs of equal aesthetic value, despite adapting them to the constraints of local materials. In this regard, if the English work, from a strictly material point of view, differs only slightly from the Parisian model, in Italy we find different and more clearly distinguishable solutions, especially in terms of the layout. Even in the cases where the Parisian model was followed more strictly in terms of text and decoration,<sup>34</sup> the material structure remains rigidly anchored to the Italian tradition. This confirms that specific material features, and in particular, the type of the parchment, were a determining factor over the construction of the object and the final output.

Indeed, it is in Italy that we can isolate a group of Bibles according to a set of easily recognisable features. Bibles from Veneto, which from a textual point of view are related to other Italian Bibles, are characterized by some recurrent codicological features, which are worth listing. They are all of high quality and range in size between 250 and 330 mm, use a senion structure with three *caesurae* (after the Psalms, between the Old and the New Testaments, and before the Interpretations of Hebrew Names), feature quite a high exploitation of the page surface (the number of lines is often higher than fifty-five) and a characteristic decorative structure (figure 2).<sup>35</sup> Even if we are still very far from Parisian standardisation, these Bibles form a specific and easily recognisable type. In addition, it should be pointed out that the production of biblical manuscripts in this region in the third quarter of the thirteenth century was almost exclusively confined to portable manuscripts, probably linked with the flourishing convents of the mendicant friars in Veneto.

In addition, I would like to draw the attention to how geographically localised is most of the production of portable Bibles: Paris, Southern England and Northern Italy. This clearly highlights the fact that it required

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<sup>34</sup> For an example of Naples production, see H       Toubert, "Influences gothiques sur l'art fr    ricien: le ma    tre de la Bible de Manfred et son atelier" in *Federico II e l'arte del Duecento italiano. Atti della III settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'universit   di Roma (15–20 maggio 1978)*, ed. Angiola Maria Romanini, 2 vols. (Rome 1980), 2:59–76.

<sup>35</sup> For general information, see *La miniatura a Padova dal Medioevo al Settecento*, ed. Giovanna Baldissin Molli, Giordana Canova Mariani and Federica Toniolo (Modena, 1999), pp. 16–18.

highly developed technical skills to produce these Bibles, and such work was feasible only in towns which had already established an efficient system of manuscript production, linked with the development of universities.

Obviously the craft practices which I have indicated should be considered as overall trends which naturally embraced some individual exceptions. Nevertheless, I believe that it is important to highlight the role of the thickness of parchment as an indicator that can help explain the differences in approach. In addition, the study of the physical attributes of a large number of manuscripts enables us, on the one hand, to clarify the modes of production of manuscripts in the thirteenth century in general, and on the other hand, enables us to establish some reliable criteria that can help determine the place of origin to be used side by side with fundamental analysis of the biblical text and its decoration. Indicators of this codicological kind could, in fact, be particularly useful in the analysis of the majority of manuscripts which lack historiated initials,<sup>36</sup> and which, up to now, have been mostly overlooked. What is highlighted through this type of analysis is not only the importance of the Parisian production and the innovative character of the solutions adopted in that town, but also the development, mainly in Italy, of different solutions to achieve the same results: the compression of a very long text into a single small-size Bible appropriate for private and sometimes even itinerant usage.

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<sup>36</sup> 35% of the manuscripts of the corpus have only flourished initials. The rest of the manuscripts have all or part of the initials ornamented, but only 22% of the total have historiated initials for all the books of the Bible.





THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL OF THE CONVENT OF SAN DOMENICO  
(BOLOGNA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 1545)

Giovanna Murano

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545 is a modest, glossed manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, which has been completely unknown to the scholarly world;<sup>1</sup> it was probably written in Italy in the early thirteenth century and belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna.<sup>2</sup> The layout consists of a central text column with two lateral columns intended to receive the Gloss.<sup>3</sup> The interlinear spaces of the central text column are

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<sup>1</sup> The Psalms and the Pauline Epistles were the most popular texts among medieval biblical commentators; the reasons for this, at least until the first half of the twelfth century, are discussed by Beryl Smalley, *The Gospel in the Schools, c. 1100-c.1280* (London-Ronceverte, 1985), pp. 1–35 (especially pp. 1–2). Perhaps because of the abundance of material (some of which is still unpublished), we do not yet have a history of exegesis of the Pauline Epistles. Nonetheless, studies published in the first half of the last century allow us, in part, to reconstruct this history. Heinrich Denifle, in his *Luther und Luthertum. Ergänzungsband I: Quellenbelege: Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Röm. 1,17) und Iustificatio, Quellenbelege zu Denifle's Luther und Luthertum, 2 Aufl. Bd. 1, 2. Abteilung*, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese, der Literatur und des Dogmas im Mittelalter (Mainz, 1905) collected a long series of commentaries on Rom. 1.17 (*Iustitia Dei*) and reported, in addition to published works, unpublished works with lists of manuscripts and in many cases an indication of the date of composition and sometimes the author. Werner Affeldt, in “Verzeichnis der Römerbrief-kommentare der lateinischen Kirche bis zu Nikolaus von Lyra”, *Traditio*, 13 (1957), 369–406, described around fifty commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, listing many manuscripts and editions; this study did not list works by their incipit and explicit (the essential tools that make an identification of a medieval scholastic text possible), however, they can be deduced from the descriptions in Stegmüller (at <http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebiIndex.tcl>, consulted 06 July 2012). A list of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles is also available at <http://www.appstate.edu/~bondhl/romans.htm> (consulted 06 July 2012). The texts in the Bologna manuscript are not related to any of the texts described in these previous studies.

<sup>2</sup> I found this manuscript during my research on the ancient and still unexplored collection of books of the Dominican convent of Bologna; I presented the first results of this research in: “I libri di uno *Studium generale*: l'antica *libreria* del convento di San Domenico di Bologna”, *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 13 (2009), 287–304; “Frammenti nonantolani delle *Enarrationes in Psalmos* nel ms Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1734”, *La Bibliofilia* 111 (2009), 221–250; “Le const. *Imperialem decet sollertiam* e *Pacis* di Federico Barbarossa in una miscellanea bolognese”, *Archivio Storico Italiano* 168 (2010), 761–772; “Una collezione di canoni, *regulae* e costituzioni in una miscellanea bolognese”, *Aevum* (2011), 389–416.

<sup>3</sup> This is the “simple” model presumably based on the Carolingian glossed books, see Lesley Smith, *The ‘Glossa Ordinaria’: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Commentaria 3 (Leiden and Boston, 2009), pp. 94–95.

further subdivided, although not on all pages, into four smaller spaces, three of which were intended for interlinear glosses (fig. 5.2). These extra lines were added regardless of the presence of glosses. The two columns intended to receive the Gloss are ample,<sup>4</sup> but although the manuscript has been carefully prepared with additional vertical lines between the text and the Gloss in the margins and in the interlinear spaces, it was not a commentary by a single author, such as a *postilla*, an *expositio* or a *reportatio*; the Gloss on the Pauline Epistles of the Bologna manuscript is instead made up of different exegetical microstructures<sup>5</sup> including in addition to scholastic prologues<sup>6</sup> and *glossae*, *distinctiones*, *schemas* of *quaestiones*, annotations and excerpts from other works (fig. 5.1 and plate IX). In short, as will be demonstrated in the following pages, the *marginalia* proves that this manuscript was heavily annotated by a number of masters (not students), who were members of a religious order, most likely the Dominicans. Moreover, a careful analysis of the sources of selected texts included in this manuscript suggests that the identity of these masters should probably be sought among the earliest masters of the Dominican Order.

The Bologna manuscript begins with the Epistle to the Romans, introduced by the initial P (38 × 20 mm), enclosing a bust-length portrait of St. Paul with a sword; the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (fol. 64v) is also introduced by a depiction of St. Paul, but without sword, book, or any other symbol. The remaining Epistles have only foliate initials, and even without a detailed art-historical analysis, the initials were evidently by different hands, and probably date from different periods. Biblical chapters are marked twice, both in the outer margin, the first one in brown ink, the second in red.

The Epistles of St. Paul also include the pseudepigraphal Epistle to the Laodiceans. All the Epistles, apart from the Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Laodiceans, are introduced by prologues. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians has two different prologues. The Pauline Epistles and the

<sup>4</sup> More information is found in the Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> See Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1999); Giovanna Murano, "Metodo scolastico e manoscritti. Qualche riflessione sulla terminologia delle opere", in *La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel medioevo: libro e documento tra scuole e professioni*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Fisciano - Salerno (28-30 settembre 2009), a cura di Giuseppe De Gregorio-Maria Galante, (Spoleto 2012), pp. 179-207.

<sup>6</sup> The first begins: "§ Hec epistula dividitur in .iiii. partes. In prima ponit salutatio, in secunda benivolencie ceptatio..."





Figure 5.1. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 1r.

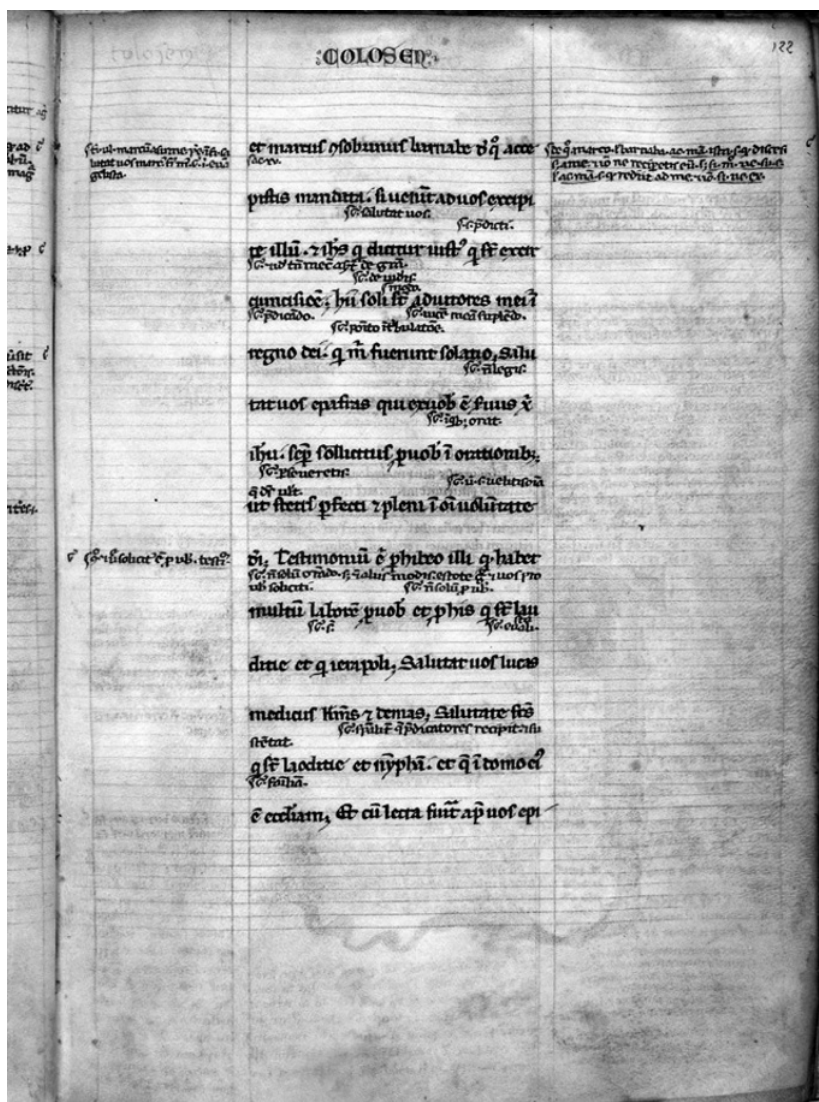


Figure 5.2. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 122r.

prologues were written by a single copyist in *littera textualis*; the *marginalia* were copied in *notularis* and in simplified *littera textualis*, probably by two hands, both fairly regular and most likely Italian. The story of the composition, transcription and use which furnishes the background for the Bologna manuscript is a complicated one. It therefore seems desirable

to begin by presenting a few select examples of each genre of exegetical microstructure copied in the margins, most of which are on its opening page.

## I

A gloss is a brief explanation or interpretation that is not completely understandable if it is not related to the text. The relationship between the text and the gloss was usually created either by repeating the biblical word (such as “Romani”, or “Paulus”) or by putting the same sign or letter alongside both text and corresponding gloss. Most glosses in the Bologna manuscript are introduced by a paragraph mark, but in some cases the biblical words are not repeated, and when they are, they are not underlined, thus making it difficult to distinguish between a gloss and other types of texts.

“§ Ihesus ebraice, sother grece, salvator latine” and “§ Christus grece, mesias ebraice, unctus latine”, on fol. 1r in the top-left margin, are certainly two glosses, both introduced by a paragraph mark. In other cases, however, the paragraph mark is followed by a different type of text. In the same margin, after the two glosses we read:

§ Ex humili factus est altus, ergo non rem(anet) quod sit humilis.  
R(esponde)o: factus non dicit mutationem de quali in quale contrarium, set in tale de non tali, vel de statu in statum.

In this case the paragraph mark introduces not a gloss but a schema of a *questio* as revealed by the presence of the abbreviation of *respondeo*.

In the same margin, over a partial erasure, we read (fig. 5.3):

§ C. Totius orbis predicator. Contra: tantum in gentibus ministerium.  
R(esponde)o: hoc dicitur quia predicatio sua per totum orbem delata est.

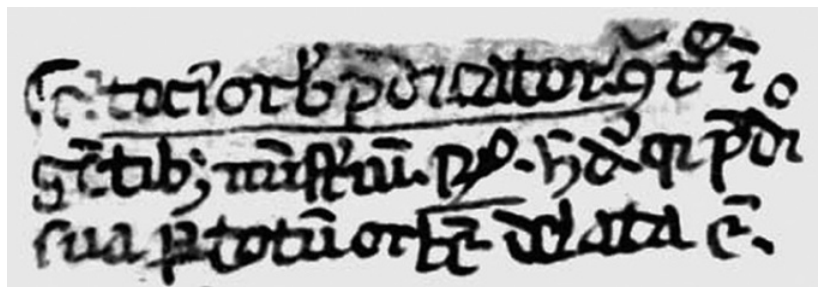


Figure 5.3. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545, fol. 1r (detail).

The entire annotation, which includes numerous abbreviations, is introduced by a paragraph mark and by an abbreviation that look likes *c'*. The first section “Totius orbis predicator” and the abbreviation for *Respondeo* (*ṛ*) are both underlined. The first is a quotation that is not from the Pauline Epistles, but from the *Collectanea* (or *Glossa*) in *epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard.<sup>7</sup> The *contra* (*ḡ*) that follows the quotation argues against the opinion, expressed by the Lombard and other masters, that St. Paul preached only among Gentiles. The *solutio* (solution) is introduced by *Respondeo* (*ṛ*), and it is precise and authoritative: St. Paul is “totius orbis predicator” (a preacher for the whole world) because his preaching “per totum orbem delata est” (spread throughout the whole world). This *schema* does not include the complete *quaestio*, but instead is a kind of mnemonic annotation for later disputations; note that the subject which interests the teacher in the lecture reflected here springs not from the reading of the biblical passage but from the Lombard’s commentary on the biblical passage, a commentary that is not copied in this manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

The source of the quotation clarifies the meaning of the first abbreviation – that it is not in fact *c'* but *g'* for *glossa* –, and in the remainder of the Bologna manuscript there are many texts introduced or marked by the same letter. In other words, marginal annotations introduced or marked by *g'* are comments on, or excerpts from, Peter Lombard’s *Glossa in epistulas Pauli*.

In addition to the *g'*, that appears to be the most frequent, there are other abbreviations found inside or near the glosses. After the first glosses, the copyist, wishing to avoid misunderstanding, did not write the abbreviations inside the gloss (after the paragraph mark) but rather outside, and to emphasise his exegesis he wrote marginal sigla for identifying sources.

<sup>7</sup> “Destinatus est Apostolus gentibus totius orbis predicator, at reliqui, singulis provinciis facti sunt legati ac predicatorum” (PL 191:1305). Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, MS A 935 with the *Glosa magna in epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard formerly belonged to the Dominican convent of Bologna. The manuscript, originally extensively glossed, has suffered many erasures in the margins.

<sup>8</sup> The textbooks of theology were the Bible and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; at an earlier time the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor was a third textbook. In the constitutions of the Dominican Order of 1288 there is the following provision: “Statuimus autem ut quilibet provincia fratribus suis missis ad studium ad minus in tribus libris theologie, videlicet biblia, sententiis et historiis, providere teneatur. Et fratres missis ad studium in historiis et sententiis et textu et glosis precipue studeant et intendant”; *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum*, ed. A. H. Thomas, in *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling* (1215–1237), Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique 42 (Leuven, 1965), p. 360.

References of this sort were not a new form of biblical exegesis. In the Bologna manuscript they have been inserted on the left (in the left-hand column), and on the right (in the right-hand column); in the case of the interlinear glosses, in contrast, the abbreviations remain inside the space of the gloss. This modification suggests that the layout of the Gloss was not copied from another model, but was instead elaborated for this manuscript and developed in the course of copying. Among the authorities found in the MS are *ab'* or *Amb* for *Ambrosius*, *ag'* for *Augustinus* (in some cases followed by the title of the work, e.g. *De civitate Dei*), *I'o* for *Hieronymus*, *pe. ra.* for *Petrus Ravennas* and *ysi'* for *Isidorus*.

## II

At least two different teachers, at different times, used the manuscript and added their commentaries; in some cases we find different texts on the same subject, for example, on the first folio on the biblical lemma "Paulus". The first text we shall examine is an interlinear *glossa* written in *notularis* in brown ink. It is preceded by the abbreviation 'A' for *Augustinus*. This *glossa* is also found in the *Glossa ordinaria* and in the *Glossa magna* of Peter Lombard, but with some differences:<sup>9</sup>

Bologna	<i>Glossa ordinaria</i>	Petrus Lombardus	Augustinus
A(ugustinus). Paulus: non ob aliud hoc nomen, quantum mihi videtur, Paulus sibi elegit, nisi ut ostendetur se parvum, tamquam	Aug. Non ob aliud hoc sibi nomen elegit; nisi ut per paruum ostenderet tamquam minimum apostolorum.	Huic autem sententia de nomine Pauli, consensit Augustinus sic dicens: Non ob aliud hoc nomen, quantum mihi videtur, Paulus	[Ideo Paulus apostolus - qui cum Saulus prius vocaretur] non ob aliud, quantum mihi videtur, hoc nomen elegit, nisi ut se

<sup>9</sup> I consulted the *Glossa ordinaria* (*Biblia cum glossa ordinaria*, ed. Adolph Rusch [Strasbourg, 1480/1481]), the *Glossa magna in epistulas Pauli* of Peter Lombard (Paris, 1541) and the *Postills* of Hugh of St. Cher (Venice, 1703) at Glossae.net: gloses et commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Âge: <http://glossae.net/> (consulted 2 October 2011). In many cases, however, I have examined *Postills* of Hugh of St. Cher and the *Glossa magna* of Peter Lombard directly from manuscripts that can provide more information than the printed editions.

Bologna	<i>Glossa ordinaria</i>	Petrus Lombardus	Augustinus
minimum apostolorum. Vel forte binomius fuit.	Non iactantia aliqua sed ex saulo factus est paulus .i. ex superbo modicus, paulus enim modicus et quietus. Saulus inquietudo et temptatio interpretatur.	sibi elegit, nisi ut ostenderet se parvum tamquam minimum Apostolorum: ipse primo Saulus, postea Paulus dictus est: nec quasi iactantia aliqua nomen sibi mutavit Apostolus; sed ex Saulo factus est Paulus, id est ex superbo modicus, id est humilis, paulum enim modicum est (PL 191: 1303).	ostenderet parvum tamquam minimum Apostolorum ( <i>spir. et litt.</i> 7, 12). Non quasi iactantia aliqua nomen sibi mutavit apostolus; sed ex Saulo factus est Paulus, ex superbo modicus. Paulum enim modicum est ( <i>En. ps</i> 72, 4).

The first part of the gloss “Non ob aliud ... Apostolorum” comes from Augustine’s *De spiritu et littera* (7, 12), as indicated by the presence of the abbreviation *Aug.* In the *Glossa ordinaria* and in Peter Lombard’s commentary, the same text is followed by another passage, which is also taken from Augustine, but from his *Enarratio in psalmum* 72,4: “Non quasi iactantia ... modicum est”. This second quotation is omitted in the Bologna manuscript. It is possible, of course, that the omission is accidental, but the fact that the gloss closes with the sentence “vel forte binomius fuit”, suggests that our master used his sources (the *Glossa ordinaria*, Peter Lombard, Augustine and so forth) but did not copy them exactly. In this case, it seems likely that he deliberately omitted the second passage from Augustine.

The second *glossa* on “Paulus” is copied near the initial P by in a very simplified *textualis*:

§ Paulus: hebraice quietus, grece modicus: I(er)o(nimus) in libro ebraicorum nominum dicit quod inter(pretatur) electus vel mirabilis, quasi *vas electionis*, quasi Deus eius vitam et doctrinam fecit mirabilem.

In the *Glossa ordinaria* the text is divided in two different glosses, the first is interlinear:

§ Hebraice quietus, grece modicus, latine nomen humilitatis ut in eam provocet.

The second is a marginal gloss:

Hiero(nymus). Paulus mirabilis siue electus. Quem et dominus ipse vas electionis vocavit et tam vita quasi doctrina mirabilem fecit.

There is a certain similarity, but the texts are not identical. The *Glossa ordinaria* cited Jerome only by name, and did not include the title of his work. Overall, we can conclude that the gloss in the Bologna manuscript is not a verbatim quotation from the *Glossa ordinaria*.

The third text devoted to Paulus is a *distinctio*. The term *distinctio* derives from the exegetical technique employed in the *dialectica*: the *divisio*. In a *distinctio* a word or a sentence is distinguished on the basis of its different meanings that can be drawn from the Scriptures or, less commonly, from other sources.<sup>10</sup> As Nicole Bériou has shown,<sup>11</sup> even before its content is examined, a *distinctio* is immediately recognizable in a manuscript by its graphical presentation: the word or the sentence is linked to different quotations, explanations and *auctoritates* by straight or wavy lines, thus creating a diagram.

In the first page of the Bologna manuscript there are four different *distinctiones*: “Predestinatus”, “Nomen eius commutatum est”, “Promisit

<sup>10</sup> Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge* 41 (1974), 27–37 at 28: “First, a *distinctio* does not necessarily distinguish the traditional four senses, but rather many (even ten or fifteen) or as few as its author pleased, some of the senses having much more to do with metaphor and rhetoric than with scriptural exegesis; and secondly, the illustrations of the senses need not be drawn from scriptures but may instead derive from other sources (...) or may represent the author's personal statement.” For an overview of the genre: Louis J. Bataillon, “Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1981), pp. 197–209, repr. in Idem, *La prédication au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France et Italie. Etudes et documents* (Ashgate, 1993), §IV.

<sup>11</sup> Nicole Bériou, “Les sermons latins après 1200” in *The sermon*, ed. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), p. 382.

Deus filium suum venturum” and “Paulus”. There is no direct verbal connection between the *distinctiones* “Nomen eius commutatum est” and “Promisit deus filium suum venturum”, and the Pauline Epistles. The *distinctio* “Nomen eius commutatum est” consists of five sections:

<i>Nomen eius commutatum est</i>	[I]	In signum mutatae mentis.
	[II]	In signum humilitatis, ut ostendat se <i>minimum omnium a(postolorum)</i> : Cor. xv <sup>a</sup> ; A(u)g(ustinus).
	[III]	More sanctorum proficientium in virtutibus ut essent etiam nomine novi. Ys <sup>b</sup> : <i>vocabit servos s(uos) n(omine) a(lio)</i> , unde ecclesia mutat nomen p(a)p(e) in cathedra sublimato. Victor episcopus.
	[IV]	A Paulo proconsule quem convertit etc. Aim <sup>c</sup> ; I(er)o(nimus).
	[V]	Quia binomius fuit, Ac. IX <sup>d</sup> : <i>Saulus qui et Paulus</i> . Orosius ( <i>sic</i> ).

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 9: “Ego enim sum minimus Apolostorum”. <sup>b</sup> Is 65.15. <sup>c</sup> Cf. PL 117: 363. <sup>d</sup> Acts 13. 9.

The first section is of special interest. Since no source is specified, this may be the original teaching by the master who is copying out this *distinctio*; the other *auctoritates* are from the Bible, Augustine, Jerome, and Haimo of Auxerre. The sentence in the third section ascribed to *Victor episcopus* is now attributed to Pelagius.<sup>12</sup>

“Paulus” is the first word of the Epistle to the Romans and we can assume that this *distinctio* was probably one of the first texts to be added in the margin, not only because it was copied in the bottom margin, where there was ample space, but also because the writing is large, visible and easily legible.

The *distinctio* describes the characteristics of St Paul: *modicus* (“moderate”), *quietus* (“quiet”), *electus* (“elect”) and *mirabilis* (“admirable”), characteristics already listed in the gloss on “Paulus”. Before their inclusion in a formal collection, *distinctiones* were tools used by masters to memorize the Bible or to prepare sermons. *Distinctiones* therefore can be hidden in different types of texts, including sermons, lectures, postills, and so on.

<sup>12</sup> *Pelagius Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, II, text by Alexander Souter, *Texts and Studies Contributions to Biblical and Patristical literature* 9, 2 (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 2–4, 8.



Paulus .i.	<u>Modicus</u> quantum ad humilitatem; Co. xv [1 Cor 15.9]: <i>ego sum minimus</i> . Bernardus: <i>in alto non alta sapere, sed humilibus consentire nil deo karius vel rarius apud homines</i> . <sup>a</sup>
	<u>Quietus</u> quantum ad pacem et mentis tranquillitatem, He. [Heb. 12. 14] vel <i>pacem sequimini et sanctimoniam</i> .
	<u>Electus</u> quantum ad dignitatem, Ac. .ix [Acts 9.15]: <i>vas electionis</i> . Bernardus: <i>vas Paulus, vas dignum, et celestibus ferculis repletum, de quo et sanus escam, et infirmus accipiat medicinam</i> . <sup>b</sup>
	<u>Mirabilis</u> quantum ad sapientie profunditatem. Co. iii [1 Cor 2.6]: <i>sapientiam loquimur</i> . Bernardus: <i>medulam et scientiam divinorum sensuum non a primo vel a secundo, sed a tertio coelo largiter asportavit</i> . <sup>c</sup> Ps [138.6]: <i>Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me</i> .

<sup>a</sup>*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, VII, *Epistolae*. I. *Corpus epistolarum 1–180*, ed. Jean Leclercq-Henri Rochais, (Rome, 1974), p. 304. Compared with the edition, the *distinctio* has the following variants: *alta* ] *altum ed.*; *karius* ] *carius ed.*; *vel* ] *nil ed.* <sup>b</sup>*Sancti Bernardi Opera*, V, *Sermones* II, ed. Jean Leclercq-Henri Rochais (Rome, 1968), pp. 188–191, *Sermo I in festo SS. Petri et Pauli*, p. 189. <sup>c</sup>Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Sermo I In festo SS. Petri et Pauli*, p. 189.

In the commentary by Thomas Aquinas on the Pauline epistles,<sup>13</sup> there is a *distinctio* on the different characteristics of St. Paul, which can be compared with the *distinctio* in the Bologna manuscript:

<sup>13</sup> The commentary had a rather complicated genesis. According to P. Glorieux, “Essai sur les Commentaires scripturaires de saint Thomas et leur chronologie”, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950), 237–266 at 254–258, Thomas Aquinas read the Epistles in the schools only once, in Italy between 1259 and 1265. The text of the lecture was reported (“collecta eo legente”) by Reginald of Piperno. Later, in Paris, around 1270–1274, Thomas reviewed the *reportatio* to prepare the text personally, but without being able to complete the review. The surviving manuscripts are witnesses to this long process that took place at different times. For the commentary on 1 Cor 7.10–10.33 – missing in the original text – that of Peter of Tarantaise was used, in the version revised by Nicolas of Gorran. Most probably the commentary as it appears in the manuscripts and editions (that is, Rom 1 - 1 Cor 7.10 = text reworked by Thomas around 1270–1272; 1 Cor 7.10–10.33 = commentary of Peter of Tarantaise revised by Nicolaus of Gorran; 1 Cor 2- Hebr = *reportatio* of Reginald of Piperno [1259–1265]), is the result of a revision done in the first half of the fifteenth century, as many manuscripts are late or revised, for example, Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, MS II. 189<sup>6</sup> (ca 1456), at fol. 168rb: “Explicit sancti Thome de Aquino ordinis predicatorum expositio super epistolas sancti Pauli. Super illam enim que est ad Romanos dictavit ipse et super XI capit. prime ad Corinthios. Cetera sunt collecta eo legente etc”. In Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1655<sup>20</sup>, at fol. 81v (1 Cor 7) we read: “Nota quod hinc usque ad xi. ca<sup>m</sup>. exclusive non est expositum secundum beatum Thomam sed sumptum est de verbo ad verbum de expositione cuiusdam fratris Nicolai gallici ordinis predicatorum qui tamen satis docte et lucide omnes epistulas explanavit”. This Bologna manuscript, that comes from the Dominican convent, like most of the

Bologna	Thomas Aquinas
<p>§ <i>Paulus</i>: hebraice <b>quietus</b>, grece <b>modicus</b>: I(er)o(nimus) in libro ebraicorum nominum dicit quod inter(pretatur) <b>electus</b> vel <b>mirabilis</b>, quasi <i>vas electionis</i>, quia deus eius vitam et doctrinam fecit mirabilem.</p> <p><i>Modicus</i> quantum ad humilitatem, Co. xv: <i>ego sum minimus</i>. B«ernardus»: <i>in alto non alta sapere sed humilibus consentire nihil deo karius vel rarius apud homines</i>.</p> <p><i>Quietus</i> quantum ad pacem et mentis tranquillitatem He. vel <i>pacem sequimini et sanctioniam</i>.</p> <p><i>Electus</i> quantum ad dignitatem Ac. .ix.: <i>vas electionis</i>. B«ernardus» <i>vas Paulus, vas dignum, et celestibus ferculis repletum: de quo et sanus escam, et infirmus accipiat medicinam</i>.</p> <p><i>Mirabilis</i> quantum ad sapientie profunditatem. Co. iii: <i>sapientiam loquimur</i>. B«ernardus» <i>medulam et scientiam divinorum sensuum non a primo vel a secundo, sed a tertio coelo largiter asportavit</i> (2 Cor. 12.21). Ps. <i>Mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me</i>.</p>	<p>Secundum enim quod potest Hebraeum esse idem est quod <b>mirabilis</b> vel <b>electus</b>; secundum autem quod est Graecum idem est quod <b>quietus</b>; secundum vero quod est Latinum idem est quod <b>modicus</b>. Et haec quidem ei conveniunt.</p> <p><i>Modicus</i> per humilitatem, I Cor. XV,9: <i>ego autem sum minimus apostolorum</i>.</p> <p><i>Quietus</i> in contemplatione, Sap. c. VIII,16: <i>intrans in domum meam conquiescam cum illa</i>.</p> <p><i>Electus</i> quidem fuit quantum ad gratiam, unde Act. IX, v. 15: <i>vas electionis est mihi iste</i>.</p> <p><i>Mirabilis</i> fuit in opere, Eccli. XLIII, 2: <i>vas admirabile opus excelsi</i>.</p>

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witnesses of this commentary is late, see “Expliciunt exposiciones... complete Bononie in abbacia sancti Felicis per me Iohannem Vries de Amsterdammis 2. die octobris anno domini M.cccc.lxi”. Quotations from the commentary reported here belong to the section revised by Thomas Aquinas.

Unlike Thomas, the master who wrote the *distinctio* "Paulus" selected quotations not only from the Bible but also from other sources to interpret the four attributes. The *figura* of the *medulla* (kernel), the more hidden part and at the same time the quintessence of a man, was taken from the *Sermo I in festo SS. Petri et Pauli* of Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>14</sup> For Thomas Aquinas, St. Paul was "mirabilis in opere" ("to be admired for his works"), but for our anonymous writer, St. Paul was "mirabilis quantum ad sapientie profunditatem" ("to be admired for the depth of his wisdom").

The author of this *distinctio* appears to have a special fondness for the border of the page, and his texts are found in the bottom (most often) or top margins; other *distinctiones* by this hand are: "Revelatio" (fol. 2r), "Tribulatione" (fol. 9r), "Munditia baptismi tenenda est" (fol. 11r), "Anathema" (fol. 17v), "Homo per peccatum incorrebat" (fol. 28v), "Tribulatio est signum" (fol. 37v), "Vitanda est consorcium malorum ne homo" (fol. 39v), "Gloria apostolus in" (fol. 65v), "Facies predicatoris debet esse" (fol. 79r), "Fuga bonorum" (fol. 83r), "Non est cedendum" (fol. 88r), "Verbum Christi non habitat in homine" (fol. 120v), "Vite nostre condimentum debet esse" (fol. 121v), "Sancti habent spem sicut" (fol. 128v), "Mala spes est vitanda" (fol. 129v), "Movent homines ad credendum" (fol. 130v), "Custodia castitatis" (fol. 139r), "Disciplina non est negligenda" (fol. 172v), "Genua sunt" (fol. 173r), "Hospitalitas debet esse" (fol. 174v), to name only some of the numerous examples. In fact, there are so many *distinctiones* copied in the margins of the Bologna manuscript that these texts, taken by themselves, constitute a collection. In other words, if we were to extract only these texts from the margins of the Bologna manuscript, we would have another work: a collection of *Distinctiones* based on a reading of the Epistles of St. Paul.

Hugh of St. Cher's biblical postills have come down to us in two versions: the longer version (*Postilla maior*) is printed in early editions; the shorter version (*Postilla minor*) is unpublished and remains in manuscript form.<sup>15</sup> Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.I.16 contains the longer version of the *Postillae super Epistulas Pauli*, and includes pecia marks.<sup>16</sup> In the margins of the manuscript are *distinctiones* not found in the printed

<sup>14</sup> Compared to the edition of Leclercq-Rochais where we read "sapientiam et medullam sacrorum sensuum non a primo vel secundo, sed a tertio caelo largiter asportavit", the text of the *distinctio* presents some variants, e.g. *scientiam* instead of *sapientiam*.

<sup>15</sup> I have listed the two versions of the Postills of Hugh of St. Cher in my *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 530–552.

<sup>16</sup> See Anja Inkeri Lehtinen, "The apoeciae of the manuscripts of Hugh of St Cher's Works", *Medioevo. Rivista di Storia della filosofia medievale* 25 (1999–2000), 1–167 at 146–155.

editions, and not reported in the descriptions of the manuscript. Some of these are also found in the Bologna manuscript. Although I have not found the *distinctio* on “Paulus” in the Durham manuscript, both manuscripts, for example, share the *distinctio* on “Predestinatus”. Despite their nominal attribution to Hugh of St. Cher, the *Postillae*, as well as the verbal concordance to Sacred Scripture and the *correctorium*, were produced by a team of Dominican friars under Hugh’s direction. It is possible that the *Distinctiones super Epistulas Pauli* in both manuscripts are taken from a single-source. And that this source is Dominican.

### III

To explore further the identity of the masters who used the Bologna manuscript, or more generally, the school where the manuscript was used, I have compared other texts and the *glossa* devoted to *servus*, the second word of the Epistle to the Romans (“Paulus servus...”). The interlinear text devoted to *servus* does not begin with the word *servus* but with the exclamation *Felix conditio!*

§ Felix conditio! Nam ei seruire regnare est, nam si servus regis par comiti, servus summi imperatoris omnes reges excellit, infra eodem *cui serui*o.

The *glossa* by Peter Lombard on *servus* begins with the biblical quotation and reads as follows:

*Servus Iesu Christi*. Ecce conditio. [Origenes] Sed quaerendum est cur servus dicatur, qui alibi scripsit: *Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis*, etc (Rom. 8). Et iterum alibi: *Itaque iam non est servus sed liber* (Gal. 4). Et Dominus apostolis ait: *Iam non dicam vos servos, sed amicos* (Ioh, 15). [Haim] Ad quod dicendum est quod duo sunt genera servitutis: Est enim servitus timoris, et pene servilis; et est servitus amoris et filiationis et humilitatis, qua instar filii, qui servit, non vult offendere patrem. Si ergo id secundum humilitatis et amoris servitatem dictum putemus, non errabimus.

[Origenes] Non enim per hoc laeditur veritas libertatis in Paulo, quia omni libertate nobilior est servitus Christi. Dicendo ergo servus, nomen humilitatis ponit, ut ad eam provocet superbos quibus scribebat. Et ne misera servitus videatur, non simpliciter ait servus, sed addit, Iesu, id est Salvatoris, cui merito omnes servire debent: ei etenim servire regnare est (PL 191:1303a).

Only the last part (“ei etenim servire regnare est”) (“in fact to reign is to serve Him”) appears in the Bologna manuscript. The gloss *felix conditio!* is, however, very similar, although not identical to that attributed to the Dominican Master Hugh of St. Cher, in which we find a precise reference to the *predicator*:

Ecce felix conditio, infra eodem [Testis est mihi Deus cui servio in spiritu meo:] contra hypocritas, qui tantum corpore. *Similiter debet esse predicator servus Iesu Christi* quod magnum est. Nam cum dicatur servus regis par comiti, servus summi Regis est super omnes imperatores et maxime qui servit ei ad convertendas animas.<sup>17</sup>

For Hugh and for our exegete, the condition of *servus* (“servant”) is a *felix conditio* (“happy condition”); for another Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, this condition is *abiecta* (“si absolute consideretur”) (“if considered in an absolute sense”).

Texts such as this gloss, that are not derived from the *Glossa ordinaria* or from the *Glossa* of Peter Lombard or other known works, may offer clues to identify, if not the masters, at least the school where this manuscript was used. Many clues indicate that this school was a Dominican one; a conclusion supported by the fact that most of the *distictiones* are focused on preaching, for example, the following *distinctio* found on fol. 79r:

Facies predicatoris debet esse	{	<u>humilis</u> in conversatione; ut <i>h(um)i(lis)</i> , ut <i>placeat</i> .
		<u>splendida</u> in predicatione: 4. <i>splendida f(ulgebis) e(t)</i> ; Ec̃. vii: <i>in fa(cie) pru(dentis)</i> , [ut luceant].
		<u>durissima</u> ad tolerandum, in tribulatione; Ys l e.[7]: <i>ponam fa(ciem) m(eam) u(t) pe(tram)</i> , [ut nil eum frangat].
		<u>gratissima</u> ad reconciliandum, in or(ati)o(n)e; Hest. xv. [17]: <i>facies t(ua) ple(n)a</i> , [ut d(e)o placeat].

(“The face of the preacher must be: humble in conversation; splendid while preaching; tough to bear, in tribulation; very grateful to the reconciliation, during prayer.”)

This *distinctio* was taken from 2 Cor 10.1: “qui in facie quidem humilis sum inter vos”, (“the one who is so humble when he is facing you”) which is the reference in the first part (*ut humilis*, here extremely abbreviated as *ū h<sup>i</sup>*) of the first section, but the biblical reference is omitted. Anonymous *distinctiones* may have been presented orally and may even have been originally intended for private reading, but this particular *distinctio* also includes new scriptural references that were added in the margin, probably at a different time. These additions look like revisions by the author.

<sup>17</sup> *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Caro* (Basel: Johann Amerbach, for Anton Koberger, 1498–1502 = ISTC no ib00610000), p. vii; see also Munich, BSB-Ink B-481 – GW 4285; permanent link: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00026105-6>.

In this *distinctio* there are three different additions in the space at the top and bottom, each preceded by a different sign. The first /. adds “ut luceant” after the section related to *splendida*; the second /: adds “ut nil eum frangat” after the third section; the last .|. adds “ut d(e)o placeat” to the fourth section. In the second part of the section related to *splendida* there is a citation that was evidently based on memory and not verified in the written text – *Ec<sup>e</sup>vii* refers to Eccl 8. 1: “Sapientia hominis lucet in vultu eius, et potentissimus faciem illius commutabit”, (“Wisdom brightens a man’s face and changes its hard appearance”) but the sentence that follows is “in facie prudentis” (*lucet sapientia*) that derives from Prv 17.24 “In facie prudentis lucet sapientia”. *Splendida*, *durissima*, *gratissima* are not words found very frequently in the Bible, and the search for sentences which could illustrate their meaning must have been quite difficult and prolonged. The face of a preacher is not a subject for debate or for theological speculation, but it is a matter of practical interest – especially for those who dedicate themselves to preaching. Given the presence of these additions to the text, I believe that this *distinctio* is original to this manuscript, and that the hand that has inserted the additions is that of the author.

In conclusion, I would suggest that this was not a manuscript written by someone who was recording the opinions of a teacher in the margins after a lecture, or copying fragments of the discussion (*contra – respondeo*). Additions like that of the *distinctio* “Facies predicatoris debet esse”, in my opinion reveal the hand of a *magister*; this conclusion is also supported by the absence of attributions after some texts or sections of texts.

#### IV

Ownership notes reveal that this manuscript belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna; its content demonstrates that it belonged to one or more Dominican masters, and was in use for a period of time in the first half of the thirteenth century. Proof of intensive use come from the evidence that ink in the outer margins has been rubbed away through use; consequently, in some cases the term or short sentence that introduces a *distinctio* is illegible. When a page is filled with glosses, annotations and schemas, the size of the script of later additions necessarily decreases; the latest interventions on the pages are often in smaller writing than the earlier additions. In some cases, to avoid overlapping, the most recent additions are copied around an existing form (e.g. in the bottom margin of fol.

12v a new text was written all around the *distinctio* “peccatum est”, evidence that that *distinctio* is earlier than the other texts on the page).

The comments or extracts from Peter Lombard, Augustine, Isidore, Ambrose, etc. and the *distinctiones* are not the only texts used to gloss the Epistle of St Paul in the Bologna manuscript. As I mentioned at the beginning, there are also some excerpts from other works. The text written in a very clear and elegant *notularis* that fills the entire bottom margin of fol. 50v (“Vir non debet ... quod terrena querit”) is derived from the *Expositio* of Haymo of Auxerre on the Epistle (ch. 11 = PL 117: 568); at the bottom of fol. 35r, the same hand copied part of the decretal by Pseudo-Urban, “Omnes <fideles> christiani per manus impositionem...” followed by the indication: “Ex ep. Urbani pape”. This segment was included by Ivo of Chartres in his *Decretum* (col. 131) and in the *Panormia* (I, 13 = PL 161:1069).<sup>18</sup> One of these two Canon Law collections was certainly the source of this gloss.

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1736, belonged to the convent of San Domenico in Bologna, much like MS 1545, and was probably one of the first manuscripts to enter the library of the Dominican convent. The first codicological unit of MS 1736 (fols. 1–48) contains the *De vita contemplativa* of Pomerius, followed by a collection of canons on fasting, the *Constitutiones* of Frederic Barbarossa, and papal letters on the *decime*, in addition to the *De arbitris et iudicibus* of the Bolognese jurist Bulgaro. An unusual series of records written on a former flyleaf (fol. 48v), including two poems, close this codicological unit. The collection of canons on fasting were probably taken from the book IV of the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres, the book on “De observandis festivitibus et ieiuniis legitimis, de scripturis canonicis et consuetudinibus et celebratione concilii”, which is also the source of the excerpt on fol. 35r in MS 1545.<sup>19</sup>

Copied in the margins of the *De vita contemplativa* in MS 1736, are some postills, including a reference on fol. 5rb to St. Paul.<sup>20</sup> The script of this postill is very similar to that used to copy many of the marginal texts in MS 1545, in particular the *distinctiones* – so similar in fact that we may assume it is probably the same hand.

Since the same hand appears in two different manuscripts that belonged to the library of St. Dominic at Bologna, and since MS 1736 was most probably one of the first manuscripts to enter the library, it is possible that the

<sup>18</sup> For Ivo of Chartres see the work in progress: <http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/> (consulted 06 July 2012).

<sup>19</sup> Murano, “Una collezione di canoni”, 392–396.

<sup>20</sup> See Murano, “Una collezione di canoni”, pl. 1.

same Dominican was responsible for the postills on the *De vita contemplativa*, and for part of the marginal texts that formed the Gloss on the Pauline Epistles of MS 1545.

It is unfortunate that we know so little about the early Dominican school. We know almost nothing about the preaching of the founder of the order, St. Dominic, and as of yet the works of the first Dominican teachers, Reginald of Orléans, Paul the Hungarian, Roland of Cremona (Hugh of St. Cher's teacher in Paris), Moneta of Cremona and the English Alexander of Stavensby, are still little known. I believe that it is from among these teachers that we will find the name of the person who made use of these two manuscripts.

#### APPENDIX

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1545

Parchment (with many irregularities, see: fols. 3, 7–8, 13, 14, 15, 22–23, 33–35, 38, 39, 42, 45, 51–52, 58–59, 67, 69, 76, 83–84, 87, 92, 94–95, 98, 101, 116, 123, 129, 133, 156–157, 163, 174, 178); sec. xiii (1220–1230), i (paper) + ii (parchment) + 180 + i (paper); 280 × 198 mm; quires: 1–22<sup>8</sup> (fols. 1–168), 22<sup>10</sup> (fols. 169–178), 23<sup>2</sup> (fols. 179–180). The quires begin with the flesh side on their opening recto; the Rule of Gregory, matching hair to hair, and flesh to flesh, is respected. Pricking was accomplished on the compiled and nested gathering, usually working from the verso of the last leaf; it serves as the guide for six vertical and fourteen horizontal rules, done with a colored line (not dry point). The layout is formed by a central text column (170 × 74 mm.), with glosses added in the lateral margins and between the lines. Distance between the lines is about 12 mm. The thirteen interlinear spaces are further subdivided, although not on all pages, into four smaller spaces, three of which were intended for marginal and interlinear glosses (measuring 3 mm in height). These extra lines were added regardless of the presence of glosses. The pricking that would have guided these supplementary lines is not visible. The columns intended to receive the gloss measure 37 mm for the internal column, and 60 mm for the outer column respectively (measurements taken on fol. 75). Historiated initials in colours at fols. 11ra (38 × 20 mm) and 64va; foliate initials at the beginning of the other Epistles. Initials in red and blue at the beginning of the prologues. Titles and biblical chapters in red and blue.

PROVENANCE: fol. 1r: “fratris Dondedei Bonon. ordinis predicatorum” (sec. xiv); “Iste liber est ordinis predicatorum concessus fratri Dondedeo Bonon. eiusdem ordinis in vita sua” (sec. xiv). Sources attest to Dondedeo's



presence at the convent of Bologna from 1306 to 1309. In these years he does not appear to have held positions of particular significance.

*TEXT: Pauline Epistles with Commentary*

Fol. 1r <*Prologus ad Romanos*> "Romani sunt in partibus Ytalie. Hii preventi sunt a falsis apostolis ... scribens eis a Corintho" (D. De Bruyne, "Prologue d'origine marcionite", *Revue Bénédictine* 24 [1907], 1–16, at p. 14 [with variants]; Stegmüller, no. 677). Fols. 1r–32r PAULUS, *Ad Romanos* "Paulus seruus Christi Ihesu uocatus apostolus segregatus in euangelium Dei..." (*Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, et al., [Stuttgart, 1969], 1749–69);

Fols. 32r–64v <*Prologus I ad Cor.*> "Corinthe sunt Achaici. Et hii similiter ab apostolo audierunt uerbum ueritatis et subuersi multipharie a falsis apostolis.... ab Epheso per Timotheum discipulum suum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 13–14); PAULUS, *I ad Corinthios* "Paulus uocatus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1769–89);

Fols. 64v–86r <*Prologus II ad Cor.*> "Post actam penitentiam consolatoriam scribit eis a Troade epistolam per Titum et conlaudans eos hortatur ad meliora. Contristatos eos quidem, sed emendatos ostendens scripta a Macedonia per Titum. Anathema interpretatur perditio. Maranatha autem ... in temptatio dominus noster ueniet" ("Post ... ostendens": De Bruyne, "Prologue", 15; "Anathema interpretatur..." cf. Stegmüller, no. 682); PAULUS, *II Ad Corinthios* "Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei et Timotheus frater..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1789–1802);

Fols. 86r–97r <*Prologus ad Gal.*> "Galathe sunt Greci. Hii uerbum ueritatis primum ab apostolo acceperunt. Sed post discessum ... Hos apostolus reuocat ad fidem ueritatis scribens eis ab Epheso" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 13; Stegmüller, no. 707); PAULUS, *Ad Galatas* "Paulus Apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per Ihesum Christum..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1802–08);

Fols. 97r–107v <*Prolog. ad Eph.*> "Ephesi sunt Asiani. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt in fide. Hos collaudat apostolus, scribens eis a Roma de carcere per Tythicum diaconum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 15); PAULUS, *Ad Ephesios* "Paulus apostolus Iesu Christi per uoluntatem Dei sanctis omnibus..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1808–15);

Fols. 107v–115v <*Prologus ad Philipp.*> "Phylippenses sunt Macedones. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt ... de carcere per Epaphroditum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 15; Stegmüller, no. 728); PAULUS, *Ad Philippenses* "Paulus et Timotheus serui Iesu Christi omnibus sanctis..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1815–20);

Fols. 115v-122v <*Prologus ad Col.*> "Colossenses et hii sicut Laodicenses sunt Asiani. Et ipsi preventi erant a pseudoapostolis nec ad hos accessit ... ab Epheso per Tythicum diaconum et Onesimum acolithum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 14; Stegmüller, no. 736); PAULUS, *Ad Colossenses* "Paulus apostolus Christi Ihesu per uoluntatem Dei et Timotheus frater..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1820-24);

Fols. 122v-129v <*Prologus ad Thess.*> "Thesalonicenses sunt Macedones. Hii accepto uerbo ueritatis perstiterunt in fide etiam in persecutione ... ab Athenis per Titicum diaconum et Onesimum acolitum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 14). PAULUS, *I Ad Thessalonicenses* "Paulus et Siluanus et Timotheus ecclesie Thessalonicensium..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1824-29);

Fols. 129v-133r <*Prologus II ad Thess.*> "Ad Thessalonicenses (*ms* Salonicenses) secundam epistolam scribit apostolus, et notum facit eis ... ab Athenis per Tithicum diaconem et Honesimum acolitum" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 15; Stegmüller, no. 752); PAULUS, *II Ad Thessalonicenses* "Paulus et Silvanus et Timotheus ecclesie Thessalonicensium..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1829-1831);

Fols. 133r-141r <*Prologus ad Tim.*> "Thimotheum instruit et docet de ordinatione episcopatus et diaconii et omnis ecclesiastice discipline. Scribens ei de Laodicea" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 16; Stegmüller, no. 765); PAULUS, *I Ad Timotheum* "Paulus apostolus Ihesu Christi secundum imperium Dei saluatoris nostri..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1831-36);

Fols. 141r-147r <*Prologus II ad Tim.*> "Item Timotheo scribit de exhortatione martyrii et omnis regule veritatis et quid futurum sit temporibus nouissimis et de sua passione scribit ei ab urbe Roma de carcere" (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 16 with variants; Stegmüller, no. 772); PAULUS, *II Ad Timotheum* "Paulus apostolus Christi Ihesu per uoluntatem Dei..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1836-40);

Fols. 147v-151r <*Prologus ad Tit.*> "Titum commonefacit et instruit de constitutione presbyterii et de spirituali conversatione et hereticis uitandis qui in scripturis Iudaicis credunt. Scribit eis a Nicopoli..." (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 16; Stegmüller, no. 780); PAULUS, *Ad Titum* "Paulus Dei seruus, apostolus autem Christi Ihesu..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1840-42);

Fols. 151r-152v <*Prologus ad Philem.*> "Phylemoni familiares litteras facit pro Onesimo seruo eius. Scribit autem ei a Roma de carcere..." (De Bruyne, "Prologue", 15); PAULUS, *Ad Philemonem*, "Paulus uinctus Christi Iesu (Iesu Christi *ed.*) et Timotheus frater..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1842-43);

Fols. 152v-176v PAULUS, *Ad Hebraeos* "Multifariam multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis..." (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, 1843-58);

Fols. 176v-177v *Ad Laodicenses* "Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per Iesum Christum... Et facite legi Coloniensium vobis" (*Biblia Sacra vulgatam*, Appendix, p. 1976).

## JOHN PECHAM ON THE FORM OF LAMENTATIONS

J. Cornelia Linde

In late medieval Latin Bibles, the visual make-up of the Book of Lamentations catches the reader's eye: the text consists of five distinct short chapters and each verse of the first four chapters is preceded by the name of a Hebrew letter, in alphabetic order, usually written in red ink. This inclusion of the Hebrew letters is a common feature in manuscripts of the Late Medieval Bible. The place of Lamentations within the biblical canon is stable: it is placed after the Book of Jeremiah, to whom it was attributed, and the transition between the two books is usually bridged by a short preface derived from the Septuagint tradition:

Et factum est postquam in captivitatem reductus est Israel et Hierusalem deserta est sedit Hieremias flens et planxit lamentationem hanc in Hierusalem et dixit.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to other prefaces to biblical books, this brief passage was not usually labelled. Instead, it was incorporated into the text. Judging from a survey of a small number of manuscripts, the positioning of this preface at the start of Lamentations right after the incipit seems to have been more common in thirteenth-century Bibles than the position at the end of the Book of Jeremiah.<sup>2</sup> In some instances, the connecting preface was inserted at the end of the Book of Jeremiah without a following

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<sup>1</sup> "And it came to pass after Israel had been led into captivity and Jerusalem had been deserted that Jeremiah sat weeping and cried this lament in Jerusalem and said"; see *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe O. S. B. edita*, ed. H. Quentin et al., vol. 14, *Liber Hieremiae, Lamentationes, Liber Baruch* (Rome, 1972), 14:285. The Greek version of the preface is printed as part of the text in *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, 2 vols., ed. A. Rahlfs, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1949), 2:756. In exceptional cases, Baruch is placed between Jeremiah and Lamentations; see, e.g., BL, MS Add. 37058 (France, second half 13th c.); and Sion/Sitten, Archives du Chapitre/Kapitelsarchiv, MS 15 (Italy, 11th c.) fol. 154v. I am grateful to Saara Leskinen for many helpful suggestions. My research has been generously funded by a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship.

<sup>2</sup> For examples of manuscripts containing the preface after the incipit to Lamentations, see BL, MS Add. 37058, fol. 242v; BL, MS Egerton 2908 (Italy, 13th c.), fol. 239v; St. Gall, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, MS 332, fol. 278v (see <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/vad/0332/278v/small>, consulted 31/03/2011; second half 13th c. or beginning of 14th c.; from Northern France or Southern England).

explicit or incipit.<sup>3</sup> In fact, while Lamentations is now regarded as without doubt a self-contained biblical book, in the Latin Middle Ages Jeremiah and Lamentations were frequently perceived as a single biblical book, the latter being a direct, if clearly distinguishable, continuation of the former. This perception is mirrored by the fact that, judging from the small sample of manuscripts I have consulted, the running title for Lamentations seems to have been more frequently *Ieremias* rather than *Lamentationes*.<sup>4</sup> The connecting preface helped the reader link the two books closely together. In addition to these formal peculiarities found in the Latin manuscript tradition, St. Jerome provided further information on the text by pointing out its acrostic and metrical form in the original Hebrew, the former mirrored in the Latin by the introduction of the Hebrew letter names.<sup>5</sup> With regard to its textual structure and artistic composition, Lamentations thus offered its medieval Latin commentators various points for discussion.

This article deals with John Pecham's views on the formal aspects of Lamentations as expressed in the preface to his *Expositio in Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae*, the oldest known Franciscan commentary on this biblical book. The Englishman Pecham (ca. 1225/1230–1292), later to become archbishop of Canterbury, was a novice of the Franciscan Order at Oxford before leaving for Paris between 1257 and 1259. He was *magister regens* in theology and *lector* in Paris from 1269 to 1272.<sup>6</sup> Besides a commentary on Lamentations, his exegetical works include postills on the Song of Songs, Ezekiel, Luke, John and Hebrews.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., BL, MS Add. 37487 (Italy, 13th c.), fol. 237rb and Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MS WettF 11, fol. 259v (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/kba/WettF0011/259v> consulted 31/03/2011; last quarter of 13th c.; of German-speaking provenance). The information given by the critical apparatus to Lamentations shows that the preface is found at times before, at times after the *inscriptio tituli*; see *Biblia sacra latinam* (Rome), 14:285.

<sup>4</sup> The following manuscripts have "Ieremias" as the running title: BL, MS Add. 50003 (Catalonia, 1273); BL, MS Egerton 2908; BL, MS Add. 38115 (second half of 13th c.); Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsWettF 11. BL, MS Add. 37058 has "Liber Ieremie"; St. Gall, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, MS 332 has "Lamentationes"; and BL, MS Add. 37487 has "Treni".

<sup>5</sup> See p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> See Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 3, 6, 8 and 10–12. Among his other works are the *Perspectiva communis*, the *Tractatus de sphaera* and several poems. In accordance with the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: from the Earliest Time to the Year 2000*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford 2004), 43:362–368, I am using the spelling "Pecham" rather than "Peckham".

<sup>7</sup> For a list of Pecham's works, see Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 290–297. Stegmüller (3:403, no. 4085) mentions a lost commentary on the Gospel of Mark by Pecham.

Pecham's *In Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae* was published among the *Opera omnia* of Bonaventure and has so far received very little scholarly attention. The text is transmitted in two manuscripts: Paris, BnF, MS lat. 14260, fols. 205r-233r (thirteenth century); and Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapitoli, MS A CVIII, vol. 4, fols 185r-212r (fourteenth century), in which the text is attributed to Pecham.<sup>8</sup> Pecham's detailed preface is worthy of examination since it is there that he critically engages with formal aspects of Lamentations. Consequently, as nearly all discussions concerning the form of the biblical book are found in this section, I shall, for the purpose of this article, focus on Pecham's introductory remarks rather than on the whole text.

The preface begins with an opening quotation from Ecclesiastes 3.4, "Tempus plangendi, et tempus saltandi", as its scriptural theme. It thus belongs to the sermon-type prefaces in which the contents of the commented text are explained on the basis of a select verse from Scripture.<sup>9</sup> The structure of the preface agrees broadly with what Alastair Minnis has identified as the basic scheme for prefaces to scriptural commentaries. Most notably, however, Pecham does not discuss the authorship of the book. Since Jeremiah's authorship was undisputed, he may have regarded it as superfluous to comment on this matter. As the precise structure of the preface is not relevant to this article, I shall adapt the order of the points addressed by Pecham to suit the issues discussed here.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, in Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, ed. A. C. Peltier (Paris 1867), 10:138–206. For the misattribution of the text to Bonaventure and the attribution of the text to Pecham in the Prague manuscript, see Balduinus Distelbrink, *Bonaventurae scripta authentica dubia vel spuria critice recensita* (Rome, 1975), pp. 169–170, no. 181. The transmission of Pecham's works seems generally to be sparse: most of Pecham's biblical commentaries survive in a small number of manuscripts only: Sharpe (*A Handlist*, pp. 290–291) lists one manuscript for his postills on Luke and Hebrews, two for Ezekiel and three for John. His postill on the Song of Songs survives in five manuscripts.

<sup>9</sup> On the basis of this scriptural theme, Pecham briefly discusses Lamentations according to three of the four Aristotelian causes (*causa materialis*, *causa formalis*, *causa finalis*), omitting only the *causa efficiens*. For a summary of the four causes and their application in medieval prefaces to biblical books, see Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 28–29. For a brief summary of the "sermon-type" preface, see p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> The part of the preface focusing on the content of Lamentations shows more influence of Richard William Hunt's "type C" prefaces; see Richard William Hunt, "The Introductions to the *Artes* in the Twelfth Century" in *Studia mediaevalia in honorem admodum reverendi patris Raymundi Josephi Martin* (Bruges, [1948]), pp. 85–112, at pp. 94–96; and Minnis, *Medieval Theory*, pp. 18–25 for the general scheme; and p. 42 for its modified use in exegetical works.

Let us begin by examining Pecham's view of the preface connecting Jeremiah and Lamentations. Some earlier exegetes, including Hugh of St. Cher (†1263), discussed this preface in detail in their commentaries on Lamentations.<sup>11</sup> Pecham, however, although he provides a couple of very brief comments on it, nevertheless insists – without further argument – that it is by no means a part of the sacred text: “Huic autem operi haec littera in quibusdam libris anteposita invenitur, quae non est tamen de veritate textus: ‘Et factum est, postquam in captivitatem redactus est Israel, et Jerusalem deserta est, sedit Jeremias flens’”.<sup>12</sup>

The only other Latin commentator on Lamentations up to Pecham's time to make a similar statement concerning the connecting preface was the Dominican William of Luxi, Pecham's contemporary.<sup>13</sup> As we shall see, William's and Pecham's prefaces to their commentaries on Lamentations agree in many aspects, and several passages are in fact identical. It is clear therefore that one must have used the other's preface as a source. Yet which of the two friars composed his commentary first still needs to be ascertained, since both works fall into roughly the same time-frame: while little is known about William's life, he was certainly a member of the Dominican Order and *magister regens* in Paris some time between 1267 and 1275, that is, in a period overlapping with Pecham's regency at the Franciscan house between 1269 and 1272.<sup>14</sup> While the exact relationship between the two commentaries remains to be determined, Pecham and William were, in any case, the first Latin commentators on Lamentations explicitly to reject the preface as not part of the actual text.<sup>15</sup>

A possible source for this idea are the *correctoria*. Three *correctoria*, including the one attributed to Hugh of St. Cher, which might have been known to Pecham, note that the preface is not contained in the original

<sup>11</sup> See Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super Threnos*, in his *Postilla*, 6 vols. ([Basel, 1504]), vol. 4, fols. 101ra-124vb, at fols. 101rb-va. For Hugh's integration of Lamentations into the Book of Jeremiah, see p. 151.

<sup>12</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, pp. 142–143: “In some manuscripts, we find this piece of writing placed before the book, which is not, however, in accordance with the true nature of the text: ‘And it came to pass after Israel had been driven into captivity and Jerusalem had been deserted, that Jeremiah sat weeping’”.

<sup>13</sup> William of Luxi, *Prologus auctoris super threnos*, in his *Postilla super Baruch. Postilla super Ionam*, ed. Andrew T. Sulavik, CCCM 219 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 137–140, at p. 140: “In quibusdam autem libris hec littera ‘et factum est postquam in captivitatem’ et cetera, anteposita invenitur, tamen in antiquis libris non est de textu”.

<sup>14</sup> William of Luxi, *Postilla super Baruch. Postilla super Ionam*, pp. XXI–XXII.

<sup>15</sup> Their considerations cast an interesting light on the perception of biblical prefaces among medieval exegetes which cannot be discussed here.

Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Pecham's rejection might also be rooted in his stance as to whether Lamentations was an independent book or a part of Jeremiah. Several influential Christian authors, most notably Jerome himself, promulgated the latter position. In his *Prologus galeatus*, the Church Father pointed out that there are some who regard Lamentations as a separate book, but he himself included it in Jeremiah.<sup>17</sup> This incorporation is also found in some medieval commentaries on Lamentations: both Hrabanus Maurus (†856) in his *Commentaria in Jeremiam* and Rupert of Deutz (†1129) in his *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius* treated Lamentations as a part of their exegesis of the Major Prophet.<sup>18</sup> In the thirteenth century, Hugh of St. Cher explicitly stated that Lamentations should rightly be considered a part of the Book of Jeremiah, as he sees confirmed by the connecting preface: "Notandum est autem quod quidam breuem prologum preponunt huic operi, qui magis est continuatio dictorum ad dicenda quam prologus, et per hoc patet quod pars ista quam pre manibus habemus non est liber per se sed pars quedam libri Hieremie".<sup>19</sup> On this point, Pecham agreed with his predecessors. He, too, considers Lamentations a part of the Book of Jeremiah: "Inter carmina moestitiae [sc. arcem tenet] Tractatus Threnorum, ut dici possit Lamentatio Lamentationum, quae est ultima pars Jeremiae: quamvis aliqui librum distinctum ipsam appellent, sicut Cantica Canticorum".<sup>20</sup>

While Pecham did not regard Lamentations as a separate book, he nevertheless devoted some attention to its title. In the passage just quoted, he

<sup>16</sup> See the critical apparatus to Lamentations: *Biblia sacra latinam* (Rome), 14:285.

<sup>17</sup> Jerome, "Prologus in libro Regum" in *Biblia sacra latinam* (Rome), 5:5–6. In the subsequent list of Old Testament books, Jerome does not name Lamentations as a separate book. Hugh of St. Victor also seems to merge Lamentations into Jeremiah; see Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi. A Critical Text*, ed. C. H. Buttner, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10 (Washington D. C., 1939), IV. iv.

<sup>18</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Jeremiam*, PL 111:793–1272; his exposition of Lamentations, cols 1181–1272. Rupert of Deutz, *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, 4 vols., ed. Hrabanus Haacke, OSB, CCCM 21–24 (Turnhout, 1971–1972), 3:1590–1642. See also Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.viii.

<sup>19</sup> Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super Threnos*, fol. 101rb: "It has to be noted that some people put a brief prologue before this work that is rather a continuation of what was said to what is to follow than a prologue, and because of this it is clear that this piece that we have in our hands is not a book by itself but rather a part of the Book of Jeremiah".

<sup>20</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 140: "Among the songs of sadness, the treatise of Lamentations, as the Lamentation of Lamentations may be called, rules supreme, that is the last part of Jeremiah, although some call it a separate book, like the Song of Songs".

referred to the text as *Lamentatio lamentationum*, a common appellation of Lamentations among its commentators. The phrase had been coined by Paschasius Radbertus (†c. 860), who had devised it as an equivalent to *Canticum canticorum*. The reason for this was that Paschasius Radbertus had drawn close parallels between Lamentations and the Song of Songs – by Pecham's time a well-beaten track that he, too, followed.<sup>21</sup>

Pecham then listed the title of the book in three languages: "In Greek, this work is called *Threni*, in Hebrew *Cinoth*, which is the same as *Lamentatio* in Latin", a statement which he supports with a reference to the mid-eleventh-century lexicographer Papias.<sup>22</sup> These titles were well-known among medieval commentators.<sup>23</sup> In fact, in the Latin tradition the latinized *Threni* was often used as the title of Lamentations, and commentators frequently provided etymological explanations for it. The etymology that had the most currency was that the title *Threni* was derived from *terni*, "three at a time". This was explained by the fact that each verse of Lamentations chapters one, two and four consists of three *clausulae*, so that each Hebrew letter name would be followed by three clauses.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, *In lamentationes Hieremiae*, p. 4: "Et sicut proprie appellatur liber Salomonis Cantica Canticorum ita et appellari queunt Threni Hieremiae Lamentationes Lamentationum. Quia sicut omnino praecellunt illa in quibus sponsus ac sponsa dulcibus fruuntur amplexibus ita et Lamentationes istae vincunt omnia Scripturarum lamenta in quibus abscessus sponsi ab sponsa magnis cum fletibus vehementius deploratur". His observation was included in the *Glossa ordinaria* on Lamentations; see Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria in lamentationes Ieremie prophete. Prothemata et liber I. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and a Translation*, ed. and tr. Alexander Andr  e, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 52 (Stockholm, 2005), p. 162.

<sup>22</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "Et dicitur graece opus illud Threni, hebraice Cinoth: quod idem est ac Lamentatio latine: unde threnetie, id est luctuose, ut dicit Papias". See Papias, *Elementarium* (Venice: Andreas de Bonetis de Papi  , 1485), sig.   vi<sup>r</sup> (used: copy BL, IB.22093): "Threnetice: luctuose". For an introduction to Papias's work and an edition of the entries under "A", see *Papiae Elementarium: littera A*, 3 vols., ed. V. de Angelis, *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichit  * 58 (Milan, 1977–1980); for the dating, see 1:I–IV. Compare William of Luxi, *Prologus super Threnos*, p. 139: "Titulus autem est hic: 'Liber Trenorum Ieremie.' Treni grece idem est quod lamentatio latine: unde threnetie, id est luctuose, ut dicit Papias".

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., the additional prothemat  n to the *Glossa ordinaria* (Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 299): "Liber iste hebraice Phinoth [sic], Grece Treni, Latine Lamentationes dicitur"; and Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super threnos*, fol. 101r: "Lamentationes Hieremie prophete que Cynoth hebraice inscribuntur".

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g. Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super Threnos*, fol. 101ra–b; and Thomas Aquinas, *In threnos Ieremiae*, in his *Opera omnia* 5, ed. Robert Busa (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1980), pp. 122–128, at p. 122; Albertus Magnus offers a different interpretation, based on the three-fold repetition of the same Hebrew letter name in Lam 3: Albertus Magnus, *In threnos Ieremiae commentarii*, in his *Opera omnia* 18, ed. A. Borgnet (Paris, 1893), pp. 243–338, at p. 244. For the *clausulae* or *versiculi*, see also below, p. 155.



Pecham, too, regarded the similarity of *Threni* and *terni* as a hint to the structure of Lamentations, yet he did not adopt this information unthinkingly from his predecessors. Instead, he rejected the derivation of *Threni* from *terni* as a false etymology. The similarity of the two words can merely be seen as a chance prop for understanding the structure of the text:

Quod autem dicunt quidam, quod Threni dicuntur quasi terni, non est interpretatio, nec etymologia proprie; sed in hoc alluditur nomini, quia ternis versibus subnectuntur singulae litterae alphabeti. Et hoc mystice; quia tripliciter debemus plangere, corde, ore, opere.<sup>25</sup>

In this instance, Pecham's statement, including the rejection of the false etymology, agrees exactly with the equivalent passage in William of Luxi's commentary.<sup>26</sup> Both the Franciscan and the Dominican, therefore, break with the view prevailing in Lamentations commentaries concerning the etymological explanation of *Threni*.

Further considerations regarding the title of the book might also have influenced Pecham's view of what constitutes the text of Lamentations. Pecham's commentary only covers Lamentations chapters one to four, omitting chapter five. This curtailing of the text was by no means unheard of: Rupert of Deutz, for instance, likewise covered only the first four chapters in his treatment of Lamentations. A further reason for this omission on Pecham's part can be found in the presentation of the text in thirteenth-century Latin Bibles. Visually, chapter five differed from the four preceding ones due to its lack of Hebrew letter names. More importantly, it was usually separated from the preceding chapters by its own title, *Oratio Ieremie*; and, in some manuscripts, Lamentations chapter four even concludes with by an explicit, followed by an incipit for Lamentations chapter five.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Pecham's limitation of Lamentations

<sup>25</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "But what some say that they are called *Threni* as if it were *terni* [that is, three at a time], is not an interpretation nor, strictly speaking, an etymology. But it alludes to the name, since the single letters of the alphabet are bound to three verses at a time. And this is part of the allegorical interpretation, since we have to weep in three ways: in heart, mouth and deed". The final sentence is drawn from Hugh of St. Cher's *Postilla super Threnos*, fol. 101r.

<sup>26</sup> William of Luxi, *Prologus super Threnos*, p. 139.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., BL, MS Add. 30357 (Italy, early 14th c.), fol. 156v: "*Explicit lamentatio Ieremie. Incipit oratio eiusdem*". BL, MS Add. 14790 (1148), fol. 69rb, has the variation: "*Expliciunt lamentationes Ieremie. Incipit oratio eiusdem*"; BL, MS Add. 37058, fol. 243v, similarly, has "*Expliciunt lamentationes. Incipit oratio Yeremie prophete*". The following manuscripts offer an incipit for Lam 5, but no explicit for Lam 1–4: BL, MS Add. 38115, fol. 111r; BL, MS Add. 50003, fol. 297v; BL, MS Add. 37487, fol. 238v; and BL, MS Egerton 2908. St. Gall,

to chapters one to four was influenced by the presentation of the text in medieval Bibles in which Lamentations chapter five, under the heading *Oratio Ieremiae*, was clearly separated from the preceding chapters.

The conspicuous presence of the Hebrew letter names in front of the verses of Lamentations chapters one to four led all Latin commentators to remark on their purpose. Pecham identified three functions of this phenomenon: "Sed litterae hebraicae non solum faciunt ad ornatum facundiae, imo ad doctrinam sapientiae, et ad intellectum sententiae sub-iunctae".<sup>28</sup> Each of these three points is then elucidated. To support his position that the Hebrew letter names serve as *ornatus facundiae*, Pecham referred the reader to a Latin acrostic composition, *A solis ortus cardine*, to consider the effect of an acrostic on the basis of a Latin example. Other exegetes, including Stephen Langton and Hugh of St. Cher, had already mentioned this hymn by Sedulius as a Latin example of acrostic poetry in their commentaries on Lamentations. The material Pecham used is thus in line with exegetical tradition, yet he is the first to insist on the function as *ornatus facundiae*, ornament of eloquence, brought into effect by the acrostic form.<sup>29</sup>

According to Pecham, the instruction of wisdom, *doctrina sapientiae*, "serves to teach that the beginning of a new life and its so to speak basic principle are to deplore one's own and others' miserable state".<sup>30</sup> What

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Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, MS 332, fol. 280r, has only an explicit after Lam 4, but no incipit for Lam 5. For manuscripts that have only the title *Oratio Ieremie*, but no incipit or explicit, see, e.g., BL, MS Burney 9, fol. 289r; and Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsWettF 11, fol. 261r.

<sup>28</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "But the Hebrew letters not only contribute to the ornament of eloquence, but also, moreover, to the instruction of wisdom and to the understanding of the connected sentence".

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 141: "Amplius tertio adornatur hoc carmen alphabeti litteris ordinatis, quae singulis sententiis praeponuntur, sicut in illo cantico Ecclesiae 'A solis ortus cardine,' primus versus incipit ab A, secundus a B, et sic de aliis: ita est in Hebraeis". See also William of Luxi, *Prologus super Threnos*, p. 139: "Sicut habetur exemplum in illo cantico Ecclesie, 'A solis ortus cardine': primus uersus incipit ab A, secundus a B, et sic de aliis"; Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super threnos*, fol. 101r: "Sicut apud nos fit in illo hymno 'A solis ortus cardine'. Ecce prima littera alphabeti nostri". Hugh derived this reference from Stephen Langton; see Athanasius Sulavik, "Principia and Introitus in Thirteenth-Century Christian Biblical Exegesis with Related Texts" in *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi, Millennio medievale 49 (Florence, 2004), pp. 269–311, at p. 283. For *A solis ortus cardine*, see Carl P. E. Springer, "Sedulius' *A solis ortus cardine*: The Hymn and its Tradition", *Ephemerides liturgicae* 101 (1987), 69–75.

<sup>30</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "Primo, dico, ad doctrinam sapientiae, ad docendum quod initium est et quasi elementum novae vitae, mala propria et aliena deplorare".

Pecham described as *intellectus sententiae subjunctae*, the understanding of the connected sentence, finally, is an – often implicit – commonplace in the exegesis of Lamentations. Already the Church Fathers had attributed certain meanings to each of the Hebrew letters, and medieval exegetes of Lamentations applied the meaning of the preceding letters to their interpretation of the following verse.<sup>31</sup> Pecham put this idea into words by stating that “the letters are displayed before the sentences, because their meaning is fitting to the sense of what is written”.<sup>32</sup> On this point, he is thus in line with the earlier tradition of Lamentations commentaries. Yet he once again provides more information than earlier commentators by not only interpreting the subsequent verses according to the letters, but also explaining the function of the letters.

A further embellishment of Lamentations, according to Pecham, is its originally metrical form. The knowledge that the Hebrew version was a verse composition goes back to Jerome. In a letter to Paula, the Church Father commented:

Habes et in Lamentationibus Hieremiae quattuor alfabeti, e quibus duo prima quasi Saffico metro scripta sunt, quia tres uersiculos, qui sibi conexi sunt et ab una tantum littera incipiunt, heroici comma concludit; tertium uero alphabetum trimetro scriptum est et a ternis litteris, sed eisdem, terni uersus incipiunt; quartum alphabetum simile est primo et secundo.<sup>33</sup>

Jerome's statement was often adapted in the medieval Latin commentary tradition, and the relativizing “so to speak”, *quasi*, concerning the composition of Lamentations chapters one, two and four in the form of Sapphic

<sup>31</sup> See Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, in his *Opera* 1, 1, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 57–161, at pp. 118–120; Ambrose, *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII*, in his *Opera* 5, ed. Michael Petschenig, CSEL 62 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1913, repr. New York and London); Jerome, *Epistulae*, 4 vols., ed. Isidorus Hilberg and Margit Kamptner, CSEL 54–56/2, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1996) 1:244 (Ep. 30); Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super threnos*, fol. 101rb.

<sup>32</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 142: “Secundo, dico, ad intellectum sententiae subjunctae: ideo enim iis sententiis praemonstrantur litterae, quia interpretatio earum conducit sensibus illorum quae scribuntur”.

<sup>33</sup> Jerome, *Epistulae*, 1:245 (Ep. 30): “In the Lamentations of Jeremiah, you also have four acrostics, of which the first two are written as if in Sapphic metre, since a section of a hexameter concludes three verses that are connected among each other and they start with only one letter. But the third acrostic is written in a trimetre, and three verses each start with three letters each, but the same ones. The fourth acrostic is similar to the first and second”. This description was repeated by later authors, for instance, by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 2 vols., ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911) VI.2.23–24; and Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.viii (p. 79). Karl Budde (“Das hebräische Klagelied”, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 3 [1882], 1–52) managed to identify the metre of the original Hebrew.

stanzas, at times disappeared.<sup>34</sup> It was thus common knowledge among Latin exegetes that the original Hebrew of Lamentations had been composed in metre. Pecham, however, did not derive his information directly from Jerome: he names Hrabanus Maurus as his source. Unlike earlier commentators, Pecham, rather than merely naming the metres, provides the reader with more information concerning their construction and use. After a brief description of their form, probably derived from the Venerable Bede's *De arte metrica*, Pecham also demonstrates why, in the case of Lamentations chapter three, the specific metre, in this case a trimeter, was fitting for the content. Quoting once more the lexicographer Papias, he notes that the trimeter consists of six feet. Yet considering that a hexameter (he is referring to the dactylic hexameter, but does not specify it) is the appropriate and commonly used metre for relating the deeds of heroes, Pecham is keen to point out that the metre of Lamentations chapter three, even though like the hexameter consisting of six feet, can by no means be a hexameter, since its subject matter would not be fitting.<sup>35</sup> In contrast to his predecessors, therefore, who – if they mentioned the

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., Paschasius Radbertus, *In lamentationes Hieremiae*, p. 77; Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 166; and *ibid.*, p. 300 (additional prothematōn XVII). See also Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, IV.viii (p. 80).

<sup>35</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "Circa quod intelligendum, quod liber iste triplici adornatur musica, et rhetorica venustate: primo in eloquentia, quia scribitur metricè; sed differenter, quia, ut dicit Rabanus [compare Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Jeremiam*, col. 1215, and 1182–1183], duo prima alphabeta metro sapphico scripta sunt: et dicitur metrum sapphicum a muliere Sappho, quae ipsum invenit: et est pentametrum constans ex trochaeo et spondaeo, et dactylo, et duobus trochaeis [compare the Venerable Bede, *De arte metrica et schematibus et tropis una cum commentariis et glossis Remigii Autissidorensis*, ed. C. B. Kendall and M. H. King, in his *Opera*, VI, 1, CCSL 123A (Turnhout, 1975), pp. 60–161, at p. 132]. In hoc igitur metri genere tres tales versus praemittuntur, et concluduntur in commate versus heroici; verbi gratia: 'Iste confessor Domini sacratus', etc. Metrum heroicum dicitur, quo describuntur facta heroum [compare the Venerable Bede, *De arte metrica*, p. 108]: quod solos continet versus hexametros. Tertium vero alphabetum, quod tertio subditur capitulo, trimetrum est, quod secundum Latinos est constans versibus trium pedum, ut dicit Papias [compare Papias, *Elementarium*, sig. p i<sup>v</sup>] qui tamen alibi dicit: 'Quos nos senarios a numero pedum vocamus, hos Graeci Trimetros dicunt, quod geminos faciunt.' [Papias, *Elementarium*, sig. p i<sup>v</sup>] Verius credo esse in hac parte, quod si sex pedes continent, non tamen modo versus heroici, quia materiae non convenit versus heroicus. Quartum vero alphabetum sicut primum et secundum describitur, ut dicit idem Rabanus". Another possible source of information regarding the metres is Hugh of St. Victor, *De grammatica*, in his *Opera propaedeutica*, ed. R. Baron, University of Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies 20 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1966), pp. 67–163, at pp. 136 and 138; yet Pecham's words are closer to Bede's; and while the comment concerning the origin of the Sapphic metre from Sappho is not found in Bede's text, it is part of Remigius of Auxerre's glosses on Bede's *De arte metrica*. Pecham might hence have derived his information from a glossed manuscript of Bede; alternatively, he could, of course, have used more than one source.

originally metric composition at all – were content to reproduce or adapt the words of Jerome or earlier commentators, respectively, Pecham goes into more detail: he not only explains the construction of the metres used, but also, in the case of Lamentations chapter three, considers the suitability of the metre for the content.

Due to its metrical composition, Lamentations falls into the category of music. Returning to the quotation from Ecclesiastes given at the beginning of the preface (“Tempus plangendi tempus saltandi”), Pecham cites a fitting passage which he ascribes to Jerome, describing the amplifying impact of music on human emotions: “it is according to the nature of music that it makes sadder the person whom it finds sad and happier the person whom it finds happy”.<sup>36</sup> As is the case for metrical composition, so, too, the composition of Lamentations as a song is the appropriate form for the content at hand, as Pecham had explained earlier: God had created song to cause both weeping and laughter, that is, *planctus* and *saltus*. The exemplar of the songs of joy that induce laughter is the Song of Songs. The exemplar of the songs of sadness that induce weeping is Lamentations. The songs of joy are meant to foster devotion; and songs of lament – and thus especially Lamentations – are to cause a pain leading to salvation, *salutiferus dolor*.<sup>37</sup> While the juxtaposition of Lamentations and the Song of Songs was common, Pecham’s interpretation of their function as exemplary songs of *planctus* and *saltus*, based on his theme-verse from Ecclesiastes, was new.

<sup>36</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: “Amplius in verbo plangendi etiam modus intelligitur procedendi: metrica enim dicit conquerendo, quod convenit lamentationi. Quoniam, sicut dicit Hieronymus super Isaiam, super illud verbum ‘Sume citharam’ [Is 23.16] etc., ‘natura musicae est, ut quem invenit tristem, reddat tristiores; et quem laetum, reddat laetiores.’ Unde modus musicus, vel metricus, congruit lamentationi”. I have not been able to find the quotation either in Jerome’s commentary on Isaiah 23.16 (Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaia libri I-XI*, in his *Opera* I, 2, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 73 [Turnhout, 1963], p. 221 [V, xxiii, 16]) or in the *Glossa ordinaria* on Ecclesiastes 3.4 and on Isaiah 23.16 (*Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria*, 4 vols., ed. Adolph Rusch [Strasburg, 1480/1481, facsimile Turnhout, 1992], 2:697; and 3:40); Pecham’s source is probably Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla super threnos*, fol. 101r: “Sed hic queritur si metrica scripte sunt he lamentationes quomodo ergo lamentabiles cum in metro soleat esse delectatio. ... Hiero. super Esa. xxiii dicit ‘Sume citharam, circumi civitatem meretrix oblivioni tradita’ [Is 23.16]. Glo: Natura musicae est quod quem invenit tristem, reddit tristiores; si letum, letiores”.

<sup>37</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 140: “Deus igitur in Scriptura sacra utrumque istorum affectuum, planctum scilicet et saltum, in nobis volens alternari, condidit cantica laetitiae ad fovendam devotionem, et carmina moestitiae ad excitandum in nobis salutiferum dolorem. Inter cantica laetitiae arcem tenet Canticum Canticorum; inter carmina moestitiae tractatus Threnorum, ut dici possit Lamentatio Lamentationum”.

In addition to the composition of both the Song of Songs and Lamentations as songs, Pecham identified a further formal similarity in that both texts were written from the perspective of various speakers responding to each other.<sup>38</sup> In the Latin tradition, this idea goes back to one of the earliest commentators on Lamentations: Paschasius Radbertus had already pointed out this similarity. His statement, in turn, was taken up in the *Glossa ordinaria* and hence became well-known among later exegetes.<sup>39</sup> In the preface to his commentary, Pecham did not go into further details regarding the speakers, nor did he explain the purpose of this peculiarity. Yet later in the text he attributes sections of Lamentations to certain speakers.<sup>40</sup>

Besides the embellishment of the text by metrical composition, Pecham regards Lamentations as additionally adorned by rhetorical means: the text contains various passages designed to evoke compassion in the listener.<sup>41</sup> Following the *Glossa ordinaria*, Pecham remarks on the frequent use of the two devices *membrum* (colon) and *dissolutio* (asyndeton) in Lamentations. Yet in contrast to the *Glossa ordinaria*, Pecham also adds the definitions of *membrum* and *dissolutio* from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Once again, therefore, while dealing with points common to the commentary tradition, Pecham adds some extra basic information by giving the definitions of the rhetorical devices. And while the *Glossa ordinaria* provides examples from Lamentations to

<sup>38</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 142: "Cum hoc etiam sciendum, quod in hoc opere, sicut in Canticis Canticorum, more cantici ad gaudendum, varie sibi respondentes introducuntur personae".

<sup>39</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae*, p. 4. See also the prothematon given under Paschasius's name in the *Glossa ordinaria*: Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 162.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 153, on Lam. 1.11: "Cum hactenus Propheta planxerit civitatem, hic, mutata persona, introducit ipsam civitatem, seipsam plangentem: sed in sequentis versus initio introducitur vox Prophetiae, et consequenter usque in finem alterius versus".

<sup>41</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 141: "Amplius secundo adornatur commatibus rhetoricis in sententiis, ut docet Glossa: Continet enim multas compositiones, quae sunt orationes auditorum misericordiam captantes fere per totum: sicut ibi praecipue patet in primo capite: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam' [Lam 1.12], et locis sive modis compassionem excitandi, ut docet Tullius". Compare Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 170: "Rethoricorum splendorem et sententiarum gravitatem et elocutionis orationem me tacente diligens lector non tacebit. .... Rudibus tamen satisfaciendo, conquestionem et indignationem rethoricam propriis diffinitionibus ad medium deducere non gravabo. Est enim ut ait Tullius 'conquestio oratio auditorum misericordiam captans' [Cicero, *De inventione*, I, 106]".

elucidate the two devices, Pecham draws his directly from the rhetorical textbook.<sup>42</sup>

A final point may be mentioned, related to the original form of Lamentations. Towards the end of his preface, Pecham discusses the language in which the biblical book was originally composed. Some, Pecham notes, think that the text had been written not in Hebrew, but rather in Aramaic. They based their argument on Jerome's statement in his preface to the Book of Daniel that the Books of Daniel, Ezra and a passage by Jeremiah had been composed in Aramaic ("chaldaico sermone").<sup>43</sup> This passage, not further identified in Jerome's preface, was, according to Pecham, taken by some as a reference to Lamentations. Yet Pecham sets this mistake right: he identifies the text meant by Jerome as a verse from the book of Jeremiah (Jer 10.11). To support his argument, he insists that to this day the Jews regard this passage from the Book of Jeremiah as written in Aramaic, and sees this as a confirmation of his rejection of the claim that Lamentations was composed in Aramaic.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 142: "Amplius considerandum quod dicit Glossa, 'Lamentationes Hieremiae membro orationis maxime distingui, vel dissoluto colorari' [Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 166]: membra autem latine, graece dicuntur cola, vel commata, quia commata dicuntur distinctiones majores, quas Tullius proprie membra appellat. Verbi gratia: 'Dereliquerunt Dominum, blasphemaverunt sanctum, abalienati sunt retrorsum' [Is 1.4]. Membrorum vero unum ab alio excipi dicitur, quando per sequens, quod praecessit, explicatur, vel ampliatur. Qui ornatus, quamvis constare possit ex duobus membris, successive tamen constat ex tribus, ut dicit Tullius [see *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, 19, 26]. Et sic est iste liber descriptus. Qui etiam Tullius articulos vocat, quod graeci cola, quamvis colon membrum sit. 'Articulus autem est, quando singula verba singulis intervallis distinguuntur, ut hic [*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, 19, 26]: 'Acrimonia, voce, vultu adversarios perterruisti'. Talibus igitur majoribus sententiis liber iste deducitur, nunc conjunctione connexis, nunc vero et quidem frequentius sine copula media sibi conjunctis. Quod intelligitur in colore dissolutionis: quia, ut dicit Tullius, 'dissolutio est, quae, conjunctionibus verborum e medio sublatis, separatis partibus efficitur' [*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, 30, 41]". See Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*, p. 166 (VIII): "Lamentationes Ieremie membro patet orationis maxime distingui vel dissoluto colorari. Res enim breviter absoluta sine totius demonstratione sententiae dicitur, quae alio orationis membro excipitur, sicut est hic: 'Plorans ploravit in nocte' et c. [Lam 1.2]. Interdum vero more dissoluti coniunctiones de medio auferuntur; partes separate efferuntur hoc modo 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas' et c. [Lam 1.1], et more rhetorico aliquando duobus membris, aliquando tribus vel pluribus constat oratio".

<sup>43</sup> Jerome, "Prologus in Danihele propheta" in *Biblia sacra latinam* (Rome), 14:5–6.

<sup>44</sup> Pecham, *Expositio in Lamentationes*, p. 142: "Amplius advertendum, quod liber iste, seu tractatus, scribitur apud Hebraeos tam sermone hebraico, quam litteris hebraicis: non,

To summarize: John Pecham covered the full array of topics that are usually discussed in prefaces to commentaries on the Book of Lamentations. It is of interest, however, that his treatment of many points is more detailed than that of most earlier exegetes and his approach is at times more critical. His discussion of Lamentations' formal aspects in many respects relies on earlier commentaries. His integration of the text of Lamentations as part of the Book of Jeremiah, for example, follows the common tradition as found, for instance, in Hrabanus Maurus and Rupert of Deutz. At the same time, his omission of Lamentations chapter five is, if not unheard of, rather unusual. While there are precedents for this curtailing, notably Rupert of Deutz, it can also be explained by the presentation of the text in late medieval manuscripts. There, Lamentations chapter five was clearly separated from the preceding parts by a separate title, often with its own incipit.

Pecham in many respects treats the same points as earlier commentators on Lamentations. At the same time, he approaches the tradition critically and also adds new aspects to the discussion of the text. His critical stance comes to the fore in his rejection of the etymology of *Threni* from *terni*, a derivation which can be found throughout the commentary tradition. His interest in issues not formerly addressed in prefaces of other exegetical works on Lamentations is displayed in his brief comments on the original language of the biblical book.

Judging from the fact that many basic issues, such as the definitions of *dissolutio* and *membrum*, and the explanation of metres, are included, Pecham's work was clearly aimed at students who still needed to consolidate basic knowledge. The impact of Pecham's *In Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae* and especially its relationship to the commentary of his contemporary William of Luxi still remain to be explored. Should it turn out that Pecham's commentary was composed earlier than the Dominican's, his work would have found immediate impact in Paris in William's commentary. In any case, it is certain that Pecham's student Peter Olivi drew

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sicut quidam male opinantur, quod sit litteris hebraicis, et sermone chaldaico, pro eo quod scriptum est, Danielelem et Esdram et unam Hieremiae pericopen, id est, partem hebraicis quidem litteris, sed chaldaico sermone conscriptos, etc., quam pericopen threnos esse fabulantur, cum non sit ita; sed illa brevis particula est, quae legitur Hieremiae [Jer 10.11]: 'Sic ergo dicetis eis: Dii, qui coelum et terram non fecerunt, pereant de terra et de iis quae sub coelo sunt.' Quod Hebraei usque hodie tam in chaldaeo sermone quam litteris hebraicis sensibilibus ostendunt".



on his master's work for his own commentary on Lamentations.<sup>45</sup> Even if no further traces of influence can be found, Pecham's preface deserves consideration in its own right for its comprehensiveness, critical insights and new approaches to the text and its commentary tradition.

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<sup>45</sup> Peter Olivi, *La Caduta di Gerusalemme. Il commento al Libro delle Lamentazioni di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi*, ed. Marco Bertoli, Nuovi studi storici 12 (Rome, 1991), p. xix and n. 34.



## THE *SUMMARIUM BIBLICUM*: A BIBLICAL TOOL BOTH POPULAR AND OBSCURE<sup>1</sup>

Lucie Doležalová

A common, mostly fifteenth-century, addenda to the Late Medieval Bible are biblical summaries. These are a unique literary type – either in verse or in prose, they shorten the biblical text and aim at helping one memorize its contents.<sup>2</sup> The one that accompanies the Late Medieval Bible most frequently is a curious poem of some 220 “non-sense” verses,<sup>3</sup> beginning:

Sex. prohibet. peccant. Abel. Enoch. archa fit. intrant.  
Egreditur. dormit. variantur. turris. it Abram.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Biblical Versifications from Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory?” in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: The Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, ed. Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 87 (Leiden, 2007), pp. 315–342; eadem, “Biblical Versification and Memory in the Later Middle Ages” in *Culture of Memory in East Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Rafał Wójcik, *Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej* 30 (Poznań, 2008), pp. 53–64; Francesco Stella, *La poesia carolingia latina a tema biblico*, *Biblioteca di medioevo latino* 9 (Spoleto, 1993); Sabine Tiedje, “The *Roseum Memoriale divinorum Eloquentium Petri de Rosenheim*: A Bible Summary from the fifteenth century” in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. Lucie Doležalová and Tamás Visi (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 335–353; and, for the argument that these texts belong together, also Lucie Doležalová, “The Dining Room of God: Petrus Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* and Retelling the Bible as Feasting” in the same volume, pp. 229–244, at pp. 241–244.

<sup>3</sup> I have discussed the text in *Obscurity and Memory in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: The Case of the ‘Summarium Biblie’*, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, Sonderband 29 (Krems: Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 2012), as well as in “Mémoriser la Bible au bas Moyen Âge? Le *Summarium Biblicum* aux frontières de l’intelligibilité”, *Cahiers électroniques d’histoire textuelle du LAMOP* 3 (2010): 1–45, and “*Biblia quasi in sacculo: Summarium Biblie* and other medieval Bible mnemonics”, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 56 (2007), 5–35.

<sup>4</sup> “Six. prohibits. [they] sin. Abel. Enoch. arc is built. [they] enter. | gets out. sleeps. [they] are made different. tower. Abram goes”.

Here, the Bible is condensed in an extreme way: each biblical chapter is usually “summarized” in a single keyword. These keywords are then organized in hexameters. The purpose of the text appears to be clear: to help one remember the contents of the Bible. As one of the prologues notes,<sup>5</sup> this is the Bible as in a small sack – *quasi in saculo* – making the huge and complex text digestible, understandable and even memorizable, and thus readily at hand any time. By the help of this brief poem, readers or users can remember what happens at which place in the Bible. In order to do that, however, they have successfully to decode the relationship between the individual keywords and the particular chapter contents. This is sometimes simple (e.g., *sex* = “six” days of creation in Genesis 1; *prohibet* = “he prohibits” – God’s prohibition to eat from the tree of knowledge in Genesis 2), other times difficult, and yet other times impossible.<sup>6</sup> Thus, active use of this text actually equals riddle-solving.

A solution to the brevity of the *Summarium*’s keywords is provided by interlinear glosses that often accompany the text. In general, they differ in each manuscript, and were copied together with the main text only on some occasions, while on others scribes created their own solutions, or at least interpreted those found in their model text with considerable latitude. The glosses are an opportunity to include further explanatory information on the keyword as an appropriate representation of the particular chapter.

The text is traditionally called *Summarium Biblicum*, although this title does not appear in the manuscripts. It has commonly been attributed to Alexander de Villa Dei (Alexander de Villedieu or Déols, ca. 1175–1240), the author of an extremely popular versified grammar *Doctrinale puerorum* (composed ca. 1200),<sup>7</sup> although there is no clear evidence to support this attribution.<sup>8</sup> Actually, the oldest manuscript I have so far consulted dates to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and thus it is quite possible that the text was written only at the end of the thirteenth century. There are several fourteenth-century copies from France, German-speaking

<sup>5</sup> This prologue appears together with the *Summarium* in Bodl., MS Marshall 86, fol. 100r, Clermont-Ferrand, Bib. mun., MS 44, fol. 147r, and BSB, Clm. 14023, p. 643.

<sup>6</sup> See the detailed discussion of the Book of Esther below.

<sup>7</sup> Dieter Reichling, ed., *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei. Kritisch-exegetische Ausgabe mit Einleitung, Verzeichniss der Handschriften und Drucke nebst Registern* (Berlin, 1893; repr. New York, 1974).

<sup>8</sup> Greti Dinkova-Bruun has expressed her doubts about the attribution (“Biblical versifications”, p. 321). Existing manuscripts actually contain only attributions to Albertus Magnus, Johannes Chrysostomus, and Bartholomaeus Tridentinus (see Doležalová, “*Biblia quasi in sacculo*”, pp. 7–8), but there seems to be little ground for these, too.

areas and England, and, in my opinion, the text might have been composed in any of these regions. Thus, unless new data are discovered, its origin has to remain uncertain.

While we know nothing of its origin, the immense popularity of the *Summarium* in the fifteenth century is evident. My survey has so far revealed a total of 367 manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> The number is by no means final, and it is difficult to make a substantiated estimation. These manuscripts are often elusive: the text, since it is brief and frequently has no title, is often not included in manuscript catalogues. Many contemporary titles are misleading: the most frequent title in manuscripts is *Biblia pauperum*,<sup>10</sup> a title traditionally referring to a very different type of a text.<sup>11</sup> The incipits of the *Summarium* vary too, especially when incorporating glosses. The common incipits, *Sex opera dierum* or *Opera sex dierum*, are also not very revealing: a number of other biblical paraphrases open with the same words. The *Summarium* can be accompanied by a prologue taken from a different text, and thus pass unnoticed. Many manuscripts contain only part of the text, most frequently the New Testament (inc. *Natus adoratur lotum*).<sup>12</sup> Finally, it is probable that copies were lost because the text circulated at times in independent quires.<sup>13</sup> Thus, many more manuscripts remain to be noted.

Although the present manuscript survey is not exhaustive, it clearly indicates the importance and popularity of the *Summarium*. We encounter the *Summarium* in two types of codices: Bibles and miscellanies.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This is rather surprising, since Stegmüller in his *Repertorium biblicum* listed eleven versions in forty-seven manuscripts altogether (Stegmüller, nos. 1175–1182).

<sup>10</sup> As in: Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 203; Bamberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 36; Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 145; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 918; BSB, Clm. 4358, Clm. 4627, Clm. 9529, Clm. 14094, Clm. 14670; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 2<sup>o</sup> 677 (at explicit); Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI, 32; St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 972b; Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, MS C 195.

<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, the much illuminated biblical retellings based on the combined readings of the Old and the New Testaments – known today as the *Biblia pauperum* – were never so called in the manuscripts (Christoph Wetzel, “Die Armenbibel – ein Mißverständnis” in *Biblia pauperum. Armenbibel. Die Bilderhandschrift des Codex Palatinus latinus 871 im Besitz der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* [Stuttgart, 1995], p. 9).

<sup>12</sup> The *Summarium* also provided for other selected biblical books. Wien, Schottenstift, MS 19 (from 1465–6) fols. 274v–276v, for example, has only the verses from Proverbs (inc. *Predicat extranea melior*) till the end of the Old Testament.

<sup>13</sup> Such as Prague, National Library, MS I F 43 – a fragment of 10 folios with the *Summarium* and a brief *Ordo librorum bibliae* – or BSB, Clm. 27462 (mid-fifteenth century), an eight-folio fragment with the *Summarium* and a gospel concordance. In several miscellanies, the *Summarium* appears in a different hand and its darker first and last page suggest an early separate transmission.

<sup>14</sup> On manuscript miscellanies: Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere, eds., *Il codice miscelaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cassino 14–17 maggio 2003*; a

Miscellanies with the *Summarium* are most frequently volumes containing material useful for preachers and/or students, manuscripts coming from both monastic and university environments. They are not restricted to a particular monastic order or area.<sup>15</sup> They usually combine a variety of short popular texts, including other biblical retellings, mnemonic aids (both for the Bible or other wide-spread texts), other *summae* and *libri pauperum*,<sup>16</sup> sermons, brief tracts or moral considerations.

#### THE *SUMMARIVM* WITHIN BIBLES

I have been able to identify eighty-seven Bibles with the *Summarium*, that is 24% of all the *Summarium* manuscripts. The real number is probably much higher, as the cataloguing of Bibles is often much less detailed than that of miscellanies. This suggestion is confirmed by the Czech examples I have studied in depth: eighteen of the thirty-five *Summarium* manuscripts of Czech origin (51%) are found within Bibles. This is hardly surprising: the *Summarium* is a text that makes sense *together* with the Bible – one actually needs the Bible in order to understand it. Thus, putting the texts side by side is both meaningful and practical. However, the *Summarium* is not without competition: other biblical summaries sometimes appear in its place, although none of them as frequently. In addition, including the *Summarium* in the biblical volume was clearly not always the initial intention: the *Summarium* is often copied by a different hand, and attached to the Bible substantially later.

The *Summarium* appears either at the beginning or at the end of biblical codices, with only rare occurrences elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> It is sometimes

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special issue of *Segno e testo: International Journal of Manuscripts and Their Transmission* 2 (2004); Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, 1996); and R. Jansen-Sieben and H. van Dijk, eds., *Codices miscellaneorum*, a special issue of *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 60 (1999).

<sup>15</sup> Also, in the Czech lands, they appear both in the Catholic and in the Hussite environment, e.g. Olomouc, Research Library, MS M I 161 belonged to Catholics, while Prague, National Library, MS XVIII B 18, to the Hussites.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Franz Josef Worstbrock, “*Libri pauperum*. Zu Entstehung, Struktur und Gebrauch einiger mittelalterlicher Buchformen der Wissensliteratur seit dem 12. Jahrhundert” in *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, ed. Christel Maier et al., Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 70 (Munich, 1996), pp. 41–60.

<sup>17</sup> Among the manuscripts noted and seen: thirty-two have the *Summarium* before the Bible and forty-five after it. In five codices part of the *Summarium* is at the beginning and its continuation at the end. In one codex, Prague, National Library, MS VI B 11, the *Summarium* is inserted very unexpectedly in the middle of the Book of Job. This is, however, indeed a special case, and there must have been some mistake made, since after the

preceded or followed by other addenda, such as the Interpretations of Hebrew Names,<sup>18</sup> concordances, *capitula* lists or tables of lections. But its most frequent companion is a brief (six to nine verses) poem on the order of the biblical books. There are various versions of it; some are true verses, others not, some complete the names of the biblical books and the number of chapters they contain in superscript. They also differ in the order of the books they list. One version, together with the *Summarium* in Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 151, fol. 91r, reads:

Sunt genes ex le nu deu iosu iu ruth reg paral es ne  
 Thob Iudith hester Iob David Salomonque sap eccle  
 Ys Je tre bar es dany post osee Iohel amos abdy  
 Jo Mi naum post aba sophonias ag zacha mala  
 post macha scribe mathe mar cum luque iohanne  
 Ro corin et gal ephe phy co thes tymo ty phil et hebre  
 Actus canonicas precedunt post apo scribas  
 una Iacob pe due tres iohann sunt unica iud.<sup>19</sup>

A similar example arranges the books in a slightly different order (here as it appears in Prague, National Library, MS VI B 11, fol. 1r):

Profert capitula distinct mille trecenta  
 et quadraginta minus uno biblia tota  
 Gen ex le mu [sic] deuter josue iudicum ruth  
 Reg paralip esdras nem tob Judith hester et Job psal  
 par stes can sapit ec is yer tren baruch ezech dan  
 os johel am ab yon mich na bak soph age zach mal  
 mach matheus marcus lucas que Iohannes  
 Ro cor gal ephe phil col tes tim tit phile heb la  
 actus iacob petrus iohan iudas appokalipsis.

Another very frequent version is:

Post pentateucum sequitur Iosue Iudicum Ruth  
 Hinc Regum paralipomenon Job postea Psalmi...<sup>20</sup>

Other verses give both the order and the number of chapters of each book. Compare, for example, the beginning: “Quinquaginta Genesis, minus

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*Summarium*, the book of Job begins again rather than continuing where it was interrupted.

<sup>18</sup> See Eyal Poleg's essay in this volume.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Stegmüller, no. 8616 as *Versus de numero capitulorum Bibliae*. Other manuscripts' titles include: *Versus valentes ad sciendum numerum et ordinem librorum Bibliae, et quot capitula quilibet liber habeat* (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS B XI 6) or *Versus utiles ad tenendum memoriter nomina et ordinem librorum Bibliae* (BL, MS Additional 20009).

<sup>20</sup> E.g. in Lyon, Bib. mun., MS 445, fol. 213r.

Exodus decem, Leviticus viginti dat et hepta. Dant Numeri triginta sex, inde Deuteronomium duo demit"<sup>21</sup> with:

L genesis minus exo decem le vigen dat et epta.  
dant nume triginta sex inde deu duo demit..."<sup>22</sup>

Still other verses include highly condensed contents of the chapters, for example, one beginning "Intrat in Aegyptum Genesis liber, Exodus exit".<sup>23</sup>

In a way, these verses, in all their variations, present a further summary of the *Summarium*. Being very brief, usually without a title and immediately following the *Summarium*, they could easily be interpreted as an inherent part of it. This possibility is supported by the fact that these additions accompany the *Summarium* both within Late Medieval Bibles and in miscellanies.

The *Summarium* appears in a variety of layouts, with only some of them preserving the verse form. Often we find vertical lines dividing keywords, or even boxes around them. The layout also depends on the length of the glosses: they are usually superscript over a particular keyword, accompanied by a chapter number; at times they cover a whole paragraph following the keyword and thus are integrated within the body of the text. While within miscellanies, glosses can become long descriptions,<sup>24</sup> in Bibles the *Summarium* tends to be accompanied only by interlinear glosses consisting of a few words or no glosses at all. This is consistent with the nature of this text, since in the case of Bibles readers had the full text at hand.<sup>25</sup> Not a unique occurrence is copying the relevant verses from the *Summarium* at the beginnings of the individual books of the Bible. Among others,<sup>26</sup> we find such a *Summarium* copy in BSB, Clm. 14001,<sup>27</sup> which includes the Old

<sup>21</sup> See Stegmüller, no. 8615; this text appears together with the *Summarium* very frequently too.

<sup>22</sup> This is the reading of, e.g., Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Pal. lat. 1728.

<sup>23</sup> See Stegmüller, no. 11373. Very similar are to be found in Stegmüller nos. 11372, 11373, and 10884.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. in Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 592 the *Summarium* accompanied by explanatory notes covers full 295 manuscript folios.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of the *Summarium* glosses, see: Lucie Doležalová, "The Charm and Difficulty of a Fragment: The Cases of *Cena Cypriani* and *Summarium Bible*", in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Text, Relations and Their Implications*, ed. Slavica Ranković with L. Melve and E. Mundal, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 20 (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 283–301.

<sup>26</sup> This is the case of, for example, BSB, Clm. 28543 (from 1463/1464), which is not a complete Bible and includes only the Gospels. There, the relevant verses of the *Summarium* are copied at the beginning of each Gospel.

<sup>27</sup> A Codex from the second half of the twelfth century with additions (including the *Summarium*) from the first quarter of the fourteenth century.



Testament from Genesis to the Fourth Book of Kings: the relevant *Summarium* verses are added on top of each page where a particular book begins.<sup>28</sup>

The *Summarium* usually corresponds to the Bible in which it appears – the order of the biblical books and the number of chapters are the same in any particular version of the *Summarium* and the Bible to which it is attached.<sup>29</sup> The text of the *Summarium* is therefore not fixed in this respect – some copies present different orders of the biblical books<sup>30</sup> and different numbers of keywords (i.e. biblical chapters)<sup>31</sup> in order to fit a particular biblical codex. Moreover if only part of the Bible is included, only the relevant part of the *Summarium* tends to be copied.

In several codices, the *Summarium* appears twice, and functions as a medieval table of contents. Olomouc, Research Library, MS M I 161,<sup>32</sup> where the *Summarium* is included in its entirety at the end, has the appropriate keywords added to the relevant chapters within the biblical text itself.<sup>33</sup> BSB, Clm. 3447 contains the Old Testament from Genesis through Ecclesiasticus with the relevant *Summarium* keywords alongside the biblical chapters, and, at the end of the manuscript, the relevant part of the *Summarium* (Gn-Eccclus) again, with superscript glosses. Of course, this table of contents does not include folio numbers and does not provide quick orientation to the text, but it strengthens the relationship between the text of the Bible and that of the *Summarium*, and stresses the *Summarium*'s reference value.

Nonetheless, the Bible and this tool do not always correspond to each other so smoothly. The *Summarium* does not include the Psalms. This is certainly not due to a difficulty in condensing the Psalter, but rather to the fact that it was well known to medieval readers and thus no mnemonic aid

<sup>28</sup> See [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034143/image\\_12](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034143/image_12), consulted 26 June, 2012.

<sup>29</sup> A good example is a huge codex, BSB, Clm. 14023 (written in 1450, owned by the monastery of St. Emmeram).

<sup>30</sup> This concerns primarily the position of the Book of Baruch, Job, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles.

<sup>31</sup> The typical example is the book of Nehemiah (Ezra II), or that of Esther, for which see below.

<sup>32</sup> Bible (second half of the fifteenth century) previously owned by Bernardines in Olomouc, see Miroslav Boháček and František Čáda, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz* (Köln, 1994), no. 32.

<sup>33</sup> This is, however, the case only in the New Testament, with which the codex opens. Within the Old Testament that follows, the *Summarium* keywords are not included within the Bible itself.

was necessary.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, omitting the Psalms from the *Summarium* inhibits it from providing an overview of the *whole* Bible as it claims to do. Although this did not seem to bother readers of the miscellanies, within biblical manuscripts mnemonic tools for the Psalms are sometimes added. These appear before or after the *Summarium* and most frequently consist of a simple list of the first verses of each Psalm, but also at times comprise a more complex mnemonic aid. At the same time, however, many Late Medieval Bibles themselves do not include the Book of Psalms at all. In such codices the *Summarium* fully corresponds to the biblical text.<sup>35</sup>

Besides this general problem, in some cases the *Summarium* copy included in a biblical codex is clearly taken from elsewhere, with little concern for their mutual correspondence. They present a different order of biblical books, and different number of chapters, without any correction. For example, the Song of Songs is frequently represented in only seven *Summarium* keywords, although within the Bible it has eight chapters. The book of Genesis is often incorrectly divided into fifty-one chapters within the *Summarium*, while it has fifty chapters in the Bible. While I was not able to find the reason for the former, the latter is due to a simple mistake. Chapter forty of the book of Genesis, where the incarcerated Joseph interprets the dreams of the butler and the baker, is represented in the *Summarium* by *tres tres* (= "three three"), that is, three branches in the butler's dream and three baskets in the baker's dream. However, since in the *Summarium* each chapter is usually represented by a single word, the copyists often number the first *tres* as chapter forty and the second *tres* as chapter forty-one, thus ending up with fifty-one chapters in the book of Genesis.

Last but not least, it is difficult to speak about the text of the *Summarium* at all because of its complex and idiosyncratic manuscript tradition. Besides the variety of glosses, the manuscripts include additions, omissions, copying errors and their corrections or further corruptions. The text has not been critically edited,<sup>36</sup> and, when faced with the large number of

<sup>34</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge, 1990), at p. 94; and Sabine Tiedje, "The Roseum Memoriale".

<sup>35</sup> For example, in Olomouc, Research Library, MS M II 31 or Prague, National Library, MS I A 39.

<sup>36</sup> The *Summarium* has been printed a number of times, it was included in several incunabula of the Vulgate Bible: at least four in Venice (Nicolaus Jenson, 1479; Hieronymus de Paganinis, 1492; Simon Bevilacqua, 1494 and 1498) and one in Basel (Johann Froben, 1495). It is also found in the *Biblia Maxima* of Jean de la Haye (Paris, 1660). Later, it appeared among biblical mnemonic aids and arts of memory (Madrid, 1735), or as a kind of an index to

variants, one is at a loss as to what methodology should be applied to determine the original version.<sup>37</sup> A possible clue is verse meter: many of the manuscripts violate the meter significantly, and these are unlikely to preserve the original reading. Among numerous manuscript variants, it is difficult to distinguish between meaningless transcription errors and interpretable semantic variants, i.e. scribe's intentional interventions. Both types often appear in the *Summarium* manuscripts, due to its nature as a list of unconnected words lacking the necessary syntax to suggest correct choice and forms of words. But it is often impossible to tell them from one another, and, in addition, there is no reason to assume that the original text of the *Summarium* contained only the simplest and most obvious keywords, rather than puzzling riddles. Thus, for the time being, the text is unrooted and fluid, and I have not been able to identify which kind of Bible (with what order of books and chapter numbers) might have been the model used by the *Summarium*'s author.

For all these reasons, one cannot simply conclude that the *Summarium* copied in Bibles functioned as a practical mnemonic tool. In some cases it successfully fulfilled this function, but in other cases it seems to be included without concern for its potential as a useful reference aid.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER WITHIN THE *SUMMARIUM*

A particularly complex example of the variety characterizing the textual transmission of the *Summarium* is the Book of Esther.<sup>38</sup> The Book of Esther is present in two versions in biblical manuscripts – one substantially longer than the other. In the Septuagint six passages were added to the Hebrew version. These additions, scattered within the book, change the focus of the story.<sup>39</sup> Jerome grouped them all at the end of the book. It

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“Colección de sermones panegíricos originales” (Madrid, 1849). Further research needs to be carried out on the early printed editions of the *Summarium*. I have published a transcription of one of the early witnesses of the text, Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 145 (Doležalová, “*Biblia quasi in sacculo*”, pp. 22–35).

<sup>37</sup> This is a problem much discussed lately. Due to the New Philology (as in the 1990 special issue of *Speculum* edited by Stephen G. Nichols), manuscript variants have been appreciated and editors are discouraged from substantial emendations. Nevertheless, presenting variants in their entirety is neither manageable nor easy to interpret. Developing digital editions provide an opportunity to deal with such texts, but presenting a medieval text both in an adequate and a reader-friendly form remains a problem.

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed discussion of this case with full lists of manuscripts and the variants they feature, see my *Obscurity and Memory*, pp. 84–91.

<sup>39</sup> There are 107 new verses added to the original 167. They change the whole nature of the events: here, unlike in the Hebrew, the events are explicitly described as taking place through the will and power of God.

was arguably Stephen Langton (†1228) who kept this order and added chapter numbers (as he did for the whole Bible) – chapters 1–10 for the originally Hebrew text, and 11–16 for the passages added from the Greek.<sup>40</sup> Today, the presentation of the book varies: protestant Bibles consider the additions apocryphal and either exclude them altogether or mark them out as a foreign element, while Catholic Bibles keep them, either in Jerome's arrangement or restored to their original places.<sup>41</sup>

This situation is reflected in the *Summarium*: some manuscripts include six keywords and others sixteen. I have not encountered the Book of Esther divided into only six chapters in any Bible so far, and so I am not able to explain this division within the *Summarium*. In any case, Esther presented through six keywords appears in twenty-eight of the eighty-five *Summarium* manuscripts studied in detail so far, which makes the group too big to be considered a mere scribal error. Its most frequent reading is:

1. *respuit*. 2. *hester*. 3. *aman*. 4. *honoratur*. 5. *epistola*. 6. *sompnus*.<sup>42</sup> (fig. 7.1)

It refers to the biblical book as in the Vulgate in this way:

1. *respuit* = (she) refused

Est 1:12 (*renuit* and *contempsit*;<sup>43</sup> *respuit* does not appear) King Assureus turns against Queen Vashti when she refuses to appear naked at the feast

2. *hester* = Esther

Est 2: Esther introduced in the chapter (the name is repeated throughout the chapter)

3. *aman* = Aman

Est 3: Aman introduced in the chapter (the name is repeated throughout the chapter)

4. *honoratur* = (he) is honoured<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For a reevaluation of the attribution of the chapter division to Langton see Paul Saenger's essay in this volume.

<sup>41</sup> W. Sibley Towner, "Additions to Esther" in *Mercer Commentary to the Bible 5: Deuterocanonicals / Apocrypha* (Macon, 1994), pp. liv-lvi.

<sup>42</sup> In exactly this reading it appears in fourteen manuscripts (e.g. Budapest, University Library, MS 50). Other manuscripts include variants.

<sup>43</sup> "Quæ **renuit**, et ad regis imperium quod per eunuchos mandaverat, venire **contempsit**". ("But she refused, and would not come at the king's commandment, which he had signified to her by the eunuchs").

<sup>44</sup> Manuscript variants to *honoratur* are: *honoratus* (e.g. BSB, Clm. 7989)



Figure 7.1. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 284, fol. 253v; the *Summarium* with a brief, six-chapter version of the Book of Esther on the second line of the first column.

*honor hinc* (e.g. Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 445)

*honor* (e.g. BAV, MS Pal. lat. 20)

*hortatur* (e.g. BSB, Clm. 9529)

*ornatur* (e.g. Prague, National Library, MS I G 36)

*oriatur* (e.g. BnF, MS lat. 2477).

Est 6: the king commands Aman to honour Mardochai (the stem *honor-* is repeated eight times in the chapter, but *honoratur* is not found verbatim)

5. *epistola* = letter

Est 8: the letter of Aman against Jews is superseded by a new letter by the king in their favour; the word is repeated five times within the chapter: verses 5 and 8: *epistolis*, verses 9, 10 and 13: *epistolae*; (Est 13: the whole chapter is a copy of the letter sent by Aman to destroy the Jews – in the Septuagint at the end of Est 3; in the Vulgate it is introduced by the last line of Est 12: *Epistolae autem hoc exemplar fuit.*)

6. *sompnus* = dream, sleep<sup>45</sup>

Est 10: the dream of Mardocheus; Est 10.5: *Recordatus sum somnii quod videram* (Est 11: the dream described – in the Septuagint at the beginning of the book)

Among the versions that present Esther in sixteen chapters, there are two subgroups. One, so far evident in eleven manuscripts, continues the short version, adding two lines with ten new keywords. They are:

7. *suspensus*. 8. *anulum*. 9. *fili*. 10. *fons*. 11. *hinc attulerunt*.  
12. *nuntiat*. 13. *orat*. 14. *hester*. 15. *et corruit*. 16. *rex artaxerses*.<sup>46</sup>

The usefulness of the result is questionable, since in this version, the keywords do not follow the biblical sequence: they stand for chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 7–16. Considering that in two of the manuscripts the second and the third lines are added by a later scribe (fig. 7.2), this could be an enlargement of the six-keyword version by a copyist who would have noticed that Esther actually has sixteen chapters in Jerome's Vulgate, and would have considered the six-keyword version the beginning of the Esther summary.

The other group, witnessed in thirty manuscripts,<sup>47</sup> has different keywords for the problematic chapters 4–6. Possibly a more critical reader of the previous version discovered that the fourth position features a keyword referring to chapter 6, the fifth position to chapter 8, and the sixth

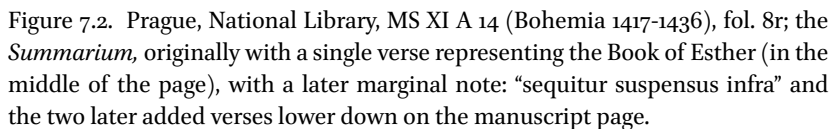
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The first four variants are linked to honour – this recalls the honour Mardochai received from Aman. The other versions each seem rather as a possible textual corruption made through a misreading of a manuscript abbreviation than a new keyword suggestions: these words do not appear in chapters 3–8, nor is their meaning related to the events narrated.

<sup>45</sup> A variant *sompnias* e.g. in Znojmo, Městský archiv, MS II 304.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Prague, National Library, MS I A 35.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 286.





position to chapter 10. Besides moving *honoratur* to the sixth place where it belongs in terms of content, this version includes:

4. *scidit* = he tore

Est 4.1: “[Mardocheus] scidit vestimenta sua” (“he tore his clothes”)

5. *inuitat* = she invites

Est 5.4: “Si regi placet, obsecro ut venias ad me hodie” (“If it please the king, I beseech thee to come to me this day”)

The most frequent *Summarium* version of Esther thus reads:

1. *respuit*. 2. *hester*. 3. *aman*. 4. *scidit*. 5. *inuitat*. 6. *honoratur*  
7. *suspensus*. 8. *anulum*. 9. *fili*. 10. *fons*. 11. *hinc attulerunt*.  
12. *nuntiat*. 13. *orat*. 14. *hester*. 15. *et corruit*. 16. *rex artaxerses*. (fig. 7.3)

The suggestion that this version originated as a correction of the six-chapter version is supported by Prague, National Library, MS I G 11a, which includes the brief version corrected into this one (fig. 7.4).

‘Hester’ is repeated twice – once for chapter 2 where she first appears and the other for chapter 14, containing her prayer. Since she is the book’s protagonist, almost any chapter could actually be summarized as ‘Hester’; the choice of this keyword is not very revealing. Some keywords do not appear in the biblical text (1. *respuit* or 5. *inuitat*) but concur with its narrative; most keywords come directly from the biblical text and either recall the exact passage (e.g. 10. *fons* = “fountain, stream”; Est 10.6: “Parvus fons, qui crevit in fluvium”, “The little fountain which grew into a river”, i.e. the beginning of Mardochai’s dream), or bring to mind its occurrences, sometimes in a complex way. For example, in chapter 8 *anulum* (ring) might refer both to Est 8.2: “And the king took the ring which he had commanded to be taken again from Aman, and gave it to Mardochai” showing the symbol of Mardochai’s advancement, but might also recall Est 8.10 “And these letters which were sent in the king’s name, were sealed with his ring...” – stressing the new letters that were written in order to reverse the earlier ones by Aman.

Besides these groups, there are many independent versions: there are nine manuscripts, each of which has a unique version of the sixteen chapters. Less intelligible are two Klosterneuburg manuscripts (nos. 503 and 428, probably dependent on one another) that belong to the latter group but exchange the order of the second and the third line. Obviously, such a change makes the *Summarium* even more difficult to understand.



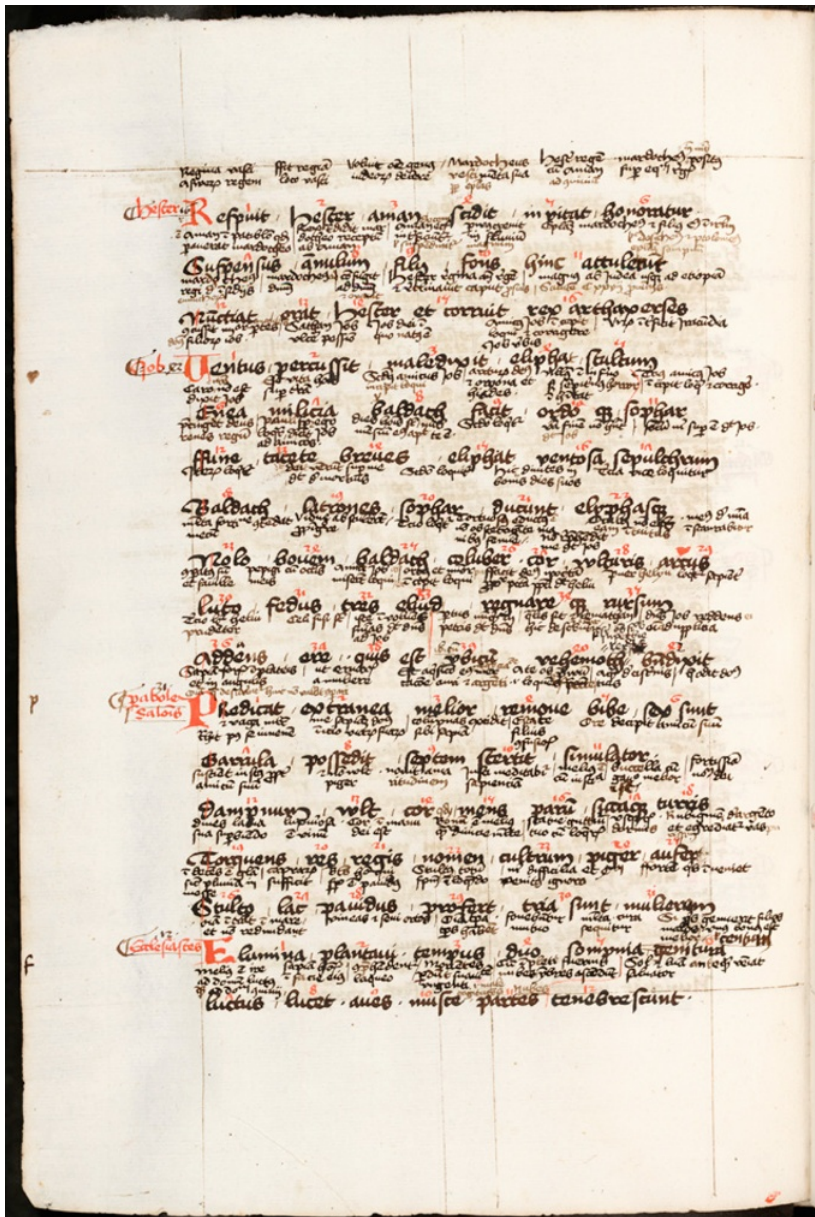


Figure 7.3. Prague, National Library, MS I A 41, fol. 171v; the most frequent reading of the *Summarius* version of the Book of Esther. Note that some keywords are accompanied by two sets of glosses in this manuscript.



Figure 7.4. Prague, National Library, MS IG 11a (2/2 XV, the *Summarium* copy by Crux de Telcz), fol. 10v; brief version of Esther corrected into the long one.

Lastly, a number of manuscripts contain evidence of comparison and collation by scribes or later readers. Most frequently it seems that scribes started off with the six-chapter version but then found the longer one elsewhere and added it to their copy. Thus, we find the brief six-chapter version followed by either the second and third lines of the longer version, or by the full longer version. Sometimes everything is by the same hand, and at other times the additions are the work of a later scribe. Collation sometimes brings about confusion in the number of chapters within the book. For example, Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 4<sup>o</sup> 13 has the short version immediately followed by the full long version, but the two versions are not separated and the chapters are counted continuously, so the Book of Esther here ends up with twenty-two chapters.<sup>48</sup> BSB, Clm. 27412 and Clm. 6411 both combine, rather than choose between, the two versions of the first line, thus ending up with eighteen chapters in total.<sup>49</sup> In BSB, Clm. 14023 and Clm. 27462, there is the short version followed by the long with an explanatory note in between:

Hester

*Respuit. Hester. Amon. honoratur. epistola. sompnus.*

Nota quod hic liber scilicet Hester alias quotatur in octo capitula, quia quintum et sextum capitulum quodlibet in duo subdiuiditur. Sed attende quod praeter prescripta capitula que dicit se Ieronimus de hebreo extraxisse in edicione vulgata et ibi in primo<sup>50</sup> ponitur de sompno Mardochei et de hoc vide per subscriptos versus.<sup>51</sup>

Hester

*Respuit. hester. amon. scidit. inuitat. honoratur.  
suspensus. anulum. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt.  
nuntiat. orat. hester. et corrui. rex artaxerses.*

<sup>48</sup> fol. 167r. It also switches the last two lines, so the whole looks confusing indeed:

Respuit. hester. aman. honoratur. epistola. sompnus

Respuit. hester. aman. scidit. inuitat. honoratur.

nuntiat. orat. hester. et corrui. rex artaxerses.

suspensus. aman. filii. fons. hinc attulerunt.

<sup>49</sup> The text thus begins: *Respuit. hester. aman. scidit. inuitat. honoratur. epistola. sompnus* (BSB, Clm. 27412, fol. 163r-v, and Clm. 6411, fol. 398v).

<sup>50</sup> BSB, Clm. 27462 reads *in principio* instead of *in primo*.

<sup>51</sup> "Note that this book of Esther is otherwise divided into eight chapters, because the fifth and the sixth chapter is each divided into two. But observe that besides the above noted chapters which Jerome says to have extracted from Hebrew, there is, [both] in the Vulgate edition and here, a passage on Mardocheus' dream at the beginning. And on this see the verses below".

Here we have an explicit note that the longer version included eight rather than ten chapters and thus it seems that the chapter-division made in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century was not settled. In addition, the manuscripts providing only the six-chapter version of Esther within the *Summarium* usually do not include any reflections on this number. An exception is BSB, Clm. 14094, fol. 14r, where Esther has the *Summarium* version with six chapters but there is a note beside it: “c<apitula> 16 debent esse” (“there should be sixteen chapters”).

The variety within a single biblical book in the *Summarium* shows clearly how unstable is the transmission of the text. While it suggests that chapter divisions were still in flux at the fifteenth century, it is hardly the only reason for the unsettled transmission of the *Summarium*. The variants follow from the *Summarium*'s nature as a list of words rather than a text proper, which was consequently easily corrupted. The above discussion demonstrates, however, a degree of creativity in the keyword selection, and proves that copyists were comparing and collating manuscripts much more frequently than is normally assumed. Again, in the transformations of the *Summarium*, we witness careful philological work, comparison, collation, and creativity in attempting to develop an efficient mnemonic tool, while, at the same time, we observe neglect for the reference value of the text, confusion, and obscurity.

### A TOOL?

As a biblical tool, the *Summarium*, in most copies, fails in several respects:

1. It does not cover the whole Bible (it excludes Psalms)
2. It can present a different order of books than the Bible it accompanies
3. It can present a different number of chapters than that of the biblical book, sometimes in different order
4. Some keywords do not correspond to the biblical chapter they ‘summarize’

How did this aid function? How could it ever become so popular? In my eyes its medieval success owed much to its condensed form. The *Summarium* promises to enable its readers to grasp the whole Bible. The Bible, an extremely complex, elusive, and even mysterious text, is summarized here within a poem that one can learn by heart and thus always have at hand. One can view it in its entirety and then place its components into a definite context without getting lost in details. One can see the order of

the books, get a glimpse of their contents, and be reminded of several important quotations. The idea, however unrealistic, that by learning some 220 verses one will know the Bible must have been very attractive to its audience, and is undoubtedly the main reason for its late medieval success.

What is surprising to the modern mind is that the considerable degree of textual corruption that afflicted this text – corruption that results in incomprehensibility – does not seem to have much bothered medieval readers and copyists.<sup>52</sup> Thus, it may seem that they created an inefficient tool and were naively using it, an explanation very much in line with nineteenth-century scholarship. But alternatively this phenomenon may suggest that we should reconsider both the medieval concept of a tool and medieval attitudes to obscurity.

The case of the *Summarium* is far from an isolated event. The technique applied – composing a poem from syntactically unrelated keywords, each referring to a much larger text – is not unique to this work; it was actually a common practice all through the Middle Ages from Carolingian times, though its heyday was the late Middle Ages.<sup>53</sup> Widely diffused among this type of poems were the *cisioiani*, versified and extremely condensed calendars, which, when successfully memorized, used and understood, helped one recall feasts for particular saints throughout the month.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> There is no simple answer to the question whether the original *Summarium* was already incomprehensible, or only became so through the transmission process. Suffice it to say that the few manuscripts that I have encountered where the scribes tried hard to change the text in order to make the *Summarium* understandable and correspond to the Bible at hand, are all from the fifteenth century. Even if the original *Summarium* was clear, it obviously did not keep this form very long.

<sup>53</sup> Bernhard Bischoff makes this observation while concentrating on older examples of this type (he cites a Carolingian mnemonic aid for Vergil created from incipits of Vergil's works. It begins: "Ty for dic si cur pri for pas quo te meri extre | Quid faciat nunc actenus et te protinus atque | Arcopat inter sic tuut atque ea panditur otur". Verse 1 serves to remember the Eclogues, verse 2 Georgica, and verse 3 Aeneis: Ty[tyre tu patule], for[mosum], dic [mihi]. He also notes a similar mnemonic poem in which the *Regula Benedicti* is presented in 12 verses): Bernhard Bischoff, "Anecdota Carolina" in *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters*, ed. K. Strecker (Dresden, 1931), pp. 1–11, at pp. 7–8.

<sup>54</sup> In these poems, two verses are dedicated to each month of the year. The number of syllables of each couplet equals the number of the days in the particular month. The positions which correspond to a particular saint's day or other immovable feast in the month are occupied by the first syllables of its name; the remaining syllables (and sometimes even full words) are just filling up the space. The name of this mnemonic type, *cisioianus*, is derived from the beginning of the poem for January: *cisio-janus-epi-sibi-vendicat-oc-fel-mar-an / prisca-fab-ag-vincen-ti-pau-po-nobile-lumen* (1st Circumcision, 6th Epiphany, 13th octava Epiphaniae, 14th Felix, 16th Marcellus, 17th Anthony, 18th Prisca, 20th Fabian and Sebastian, 21st Agnes, 22nd Vincent, 24th Timotheus and Titus, 25th Paul's

Similar poems exist for many texts that were commonly used in the late medieval schools and universities. The most frequent among them are mnemonic aids for Peter Lombard's Sentences, for the *Decretum Gratiani*, and the *Decretalia*.<sup>55</sup> Besides these widely diffused summaries, many other works condensed less well-known texts in the same way.<sup>56</sup>

Even the scholarly attribution of the *Summarium* to Alexander may have been based on its formal similarity to his *Doctrinale*, which also looks incomprehensible at first sight. For example, I, 46–51, reads:

Er vel ir ur aut um vel us aut eus pone secunda.  
i genitivus erit; sed quando rectus habebit  
ir aut ur aut eus, genitivus eum superabit.  
um par fiet et us, sed quod fit in er, variamus.  
er s p iuncta superabit et er sine muta;  
s t si praesit, genitivus non superabit.

Only when it is read together with Priscian's grammar (which was its model), can one identify some of the words of the poem as case endings, and suddenly make sense of the whole. Priscianus says:

Secunda declinatio terminationes habet nominativi sex: in *er*, in *ir*, in *ur*, in *us*, in *eus*, in *um*. Genitivus secundae declinationis in omni nomine *i* longa terminatur. Exceptis illis, quae *s* vel *sp* vel *n* ante *er* habent, et *a* ferendo vel gerendo compositis, quae accepta *i* faciunt genitivum una syllaba vincen-tem suum nominativum, ut *miser miseri*, *prosper*, *prosperi*. In *er* correptam desinentia *s* et *t* antecedentibus, nisi sint possessiva, quorum in *is* desinunt feminina, *er* in *ri* mutant et faciunt genitivum ut hic *Auster Austri*, hic *oleaster oleastri*.<sup>57</sup>

The *Doctrinale* condenses his treatment, in particular omitting the important piece of information that the topic treated is the case endings of the

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conversion, 26th Polycarp). Cf. Hermann Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 24–25; Rolf Max Kully, "Cisiojanus: Studien zur mnemonischen Literatur anhand des spätmittelalterlichen Kalendergedichts", *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 70 (1974), 93–123.

<sup>55</sup> To my knowledge these have not yet been edited but each of the three survives in at least fifty fifteenth-century manuscripts.

<sup>56</sup> See, Jakob Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau, 1905), p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> "The second declension has six endings in the nominative: *-er*, *-ir*, *-ur*, *-us*, *-eus*, *-um*. Genitive of the second declension is always terminated by long *-i*. Except for those that have *s* or *sp* or *n* before *-er*, and a bringing or making composites, which, accepting *-i* make the genitive with adding one syllable to their nominative, as *miser miseri*, *prosper prosperi*. If there is *s* and *t* preceding *-er*, if they are not possessive (of which the feminines change into *-is*), *-er* is transformed into *-ri* and makes genitive as *Auster Austri*, *oleaster, oleastri*".

second declension. In light of Priscian, the *Doctrinale* should accordingly be read in this way:

*Er* vel *ir* *ur* aut *um* vel *us* aut *eus* pone secunda.  
*i* genitivus erit; sed quando rectus habebit  
*ir* aut *ur* aut *eus*, genitivus eum superabit.  
*um* par fiet et *us*, sed quod fit in *er*, variamus.  
*er s p* iuncta superabit et *er* sine muta;  
*s t* si praesit, genitivus non superabit.<sup>58</sup>

Like all other texts of the same type, this tool does not help one understand; the material first has to be understood and only then does the tool become useful in helping to keep it in one's memory.<sup>59</sup> A crucial aspect of these tools is that their manuscript transmission is extremely corrupted and confused to the point of incomprehensibility, just like that of the *Summarium*.

In my opinion, these cases show a greater tolerance of, even a welcoming approach to, obscurity in the Middle Ages than one would expect today. Obscurity was understood as an inherent part of everyday life. Saint Paul's "now we see as through a looking-glass, darkly" (1 Cor 13.12) was not only a clause much quoted by theologians and exegetes but also an everyday experience. This world was seen as a mere reflection of the world to come. Incomprehensibility, mystery and obscurity were therefore expected. Obscurity was not an obstacle or a flaw to be eliminated but a fact of existence. It might be taken as a challenge or just an accompanying aspect of a text, but it was tolerated rather than fought against in the Middle Ages. Thus, although the mnemonic tools that were gradually developed are indeed shorter and thus can be read faster than the originals, they are not necessarily pellucid. A certain degree of obscurity is

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<sup>58</sup> "*-er* or *-ir*, *-ur* or *-um* or *-us* or *-eus* put to the second. *-i* will be the genitive; but when it will have the ending *-ir* or *-ur* or *-eus*, the genitive will overcome it. *-um* and *-us* will be the same but what ends in *-er* varies. *-er* connected to *s* (or) *p* will take over and *-er* without the mute; if *s* (or) *t* precedes, genitive will not take over" (an approximate translation).

<sup>59</sup> One can make a formal distinction between texts that employ full words (like the *Summarium*) and those with only parts of words (like *cisioiani*), whose obscurity is even greater if left unexplained. Yet, all these texts are obscure by themselves. Only in relation to their model texts do they become meaningful and useful. For this reason they usually appear with explanatory glosses, which are either superscript over the appropriate words, or fully integrated into the main text, which thus loses the form of a poem. The words that were originally cut (that is, only their first syllables were included in the verse itself, their ends being made part of the gloss) are restored, which supports intelligibility but violates the verse meter. In some subsequent manuscripts, the words are cut back again (that is, only the syllables fitting the verse are kept), in order to re-create a succinct poem.



natural and encountering it anywhere, even within tools, is not a reason for surprise or criticism.

This is not to say that the author of the *Summarium* included obscure keywords on purpose, but only to stress that medieval readers would not be struck by encountering them in the text in the way we are now. They would expect not to understand everything and thus seeing obscurity within a mnemonic tool would not make them think the tool was flawed. Finally, the *Summarium* is a condensation (and therefore a kind of reflection) of the Bible. The Bible itself is full of mysteries and obscurities, so there is no reason why its reflection should be any different.



## THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PANDECT AND THE LITURGY: BIBLES WITH MISSALS

Laura Light

This essay examines a group of twenty-three thirteenth-century Bibles that also include a Missal, and three related Bibles that include some materials for the Mass.<sup>1</sup> Some of these Bible-Missals (a descriptive term used here to describe all the Bibles in this group) are quite well-known individually, but they have never been studied together as a group defined by their contents.<sup>2</sup> Confronting one such manuscript out of context, it would be possible to take its contents for granted, and miss the fact that this is in actuality a very unusual combination. These unique and innovative Bibles were never a common type of manuscript, but they survive in significant enough numbers to underline the fact that the liturgical use of the Bible in the thirteenth century and later is an essential part of its story, and one that significantly alters our modern understanding of the use of the Late Medieval Bible.

The present paper originated in a larger project that surveyed the non-biblical texts found in a group of 215 Bibles.<sup>3</sup> This earlier study

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<sup>1</sup> This is a preliminary study based on my own examination of seventeen of the twenty-six Bibles; the remainder I know through catalogue descriptions and other studies (see Appendix). A careful examination of all these Bibles, and a comparison of the Mass texts included in each is needed for a full exploration of this topic. I would like to thank Eyal Poleg for allowing me to consult his dissertation, *Mediations of the Bible in Late Medieval England*, University of London, 2008, and for his helpful comments on this essay, and Nancy M. Shawcross, Curator of Manuscripts, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania for her assistance in obtaining the accompanying images.

<sup>2</sup> Previous works mentioning Bibles with Missals include Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England. A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 308; Peter Kidd, "A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes", *eBritish Library Journal* (2007), Article 8, pp. 1–20, here at p. 6, note 16, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2007articles/article8.html> (consulted 30 October 2011), listing four Bibles in this group; Poleg, *Mediations of the Bible*, pp. 205–06, and note 136, discusses five of the Bibles studied here; Josephine Case Schnurman, *Studies in the Medieval Book Trade from the Late Twelfth to the Middle of the Fourteenth century with Special Reference to the Copying of the Bible*, unpublished B.Litt. Thesis, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, June 1960, lists six of these Bibles in her appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Laura Light, "Non-biblical texts in Thirteenth-Century Bibles" in *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users. A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*, University of California, Los Angeles, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 169–83.

demonstrated that the most common non-biblical texts circulating in thirteenth-century Bibles were not texts for preachers (for example real or topical concordances, biblical themes selected for preaching against heretics, and collections of sermon themes arranged according to the liturgical year), or exegetical tools such as Gospel harmonies, or verse summaries of the Bible,<sup>4</sup> but rather liturgical texts, including calendars, capitularies (that is, lists of liturgical readings for the Mass), texts for the Divine Office, and, the focus of the present discussion, Bibles that include Missals or other texts for the Mass. This observation should not perhaps be surprising, since the fact that the content of the liturgy was essentially biblical needs little comment, and it is arguable that during the Middle Ages people who could understand Latin knew the Bible primarily through the liturgy.<sup>5</sup> Certainly literate monks and clerics of the Middle Ages knew the Bible through many paths – but the liturgy was one of the most important; they heard the Bible during Mass, they recited the Psalter in its entirety each week, and heard extensive readings from the Bible during the Night Office and in the refectory.<sup>6</sup> Previous studies have focused on the use of the thirteenth-century Bible in preaching and exegesis.<sup>7</sup> Their

<sup>4</sup> The verse summary known as the *Summarium biblicum* is studied by Lucie Doležalová in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> I am speaking of the educated who knew Latin; people who knew no Latin probably derived their knowledge of the Bible primarily from sermons; Pierre-Marie Gy, “La Bible dans la liturgie au Moyen Âge” in *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon, *Bible de tous les temps* 4 (Paris, 1984), pp. 537–52, at p. 552, expressing the viewpoint that the illiterate, who were the majority of the population, had no direct knowledge of the Bible, and knew it only through the ministry of clerics.

<sup>6</sup> On “dispersed” knowledge of the Bible, see James R. Ginther, “There is a Text in this Classroom: The Bible and Theology in the Medieval University” in *Essays in Medieval Philosophy and Theology in Memory of Walter H. Principe*, ed. idem and Charles Still (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005), pp. 31–51, at pp. 34–35. On biblical readings during the Divine Office see Diane Reilly’s essay in this volume; eadem, “The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo librorum ad legendum*: A Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions” in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, *Disciplina monastica. Studies on Medieval Monastic Life* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 163–89, at p. 164; and Stephen Joseph Peter Van Dijk, “The Bible in Liturgical Use” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2, The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 220–52, at pp. 233–34. The use of the Bible in the Office is not the subject of this paper, but one Bible discussed here, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Codex 236, includes a Breviary as well as a Missal.

<sup>7</sup> This includes my own articles, “Versions et révisions du texte biblique” in *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, pp. 55–93, at pp. 89–90, and “The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy”, *Viator* 18 (1987), 275–88, especially pp. 279–80 and 285–86; de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 131–38, emphasizes the important links with the Mendicant orders (he does mention Bibles with Missals and calendars, pp. 132–33); Guy Lobrichon, “Les éditions de la bible latine dans les universités” in *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia*

connection with the liturgy has rarely been discussed, mostly likely because the study of the liturgy has traditionally been reserved for musicologists and specialists in the liturgy, and consequently neglected by other historians.

A manuscript combining a Missal and a Bible in one volume was a thirteenth-century invention; I know of no earlier examples. To understand the significance of the appearance of this new type of manuscript, it is important to understand the function and contents of a medieval Missal, and briefly to review the history of its development. A Missal is the liturgical manuscript that includes all the texts necessary to say the Mass. The transformation from the Sacramentary, which included only the prayers needed by the celebrant, to the Missal was a gradual process, beginning as early as the tenth or eleventh century. By the first half of the twelfth century there were many more Missals copied than Sacramentaries, and by the thirteenth century, the period studied here, Missals had almost totally replaced the Sacramentary.<sup>8</sup> This evolution can be tied closely to changing liturgical practice. From possibly as early as the eleventh century, the celebrant was required to say all the prayers of the Mass, including the biblical readings and the texts sung by the choir – some out loud, some privately to himself. He therefore needed access to the complete texts of the Mass, as provided in a Missal, even when celebrating High Mass.<sup>9</sup> Missals were

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*dell'esegesi. Convegno della società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino, Firenze 1–2 giugno 2001*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi (Florence, 2004), pp. 15–34, at p. 33, adds another category, reminding us that many surviving thirteenth-century Bibles from Paris were deluxe objects made for the Capetian court and the wealthiest of the laity.

<sup>8</sup> The evolution of the Missal is discussed in Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924), pp. xii–xiii; Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (*Missarum sollemnia*), translated by Francis A. Brunner, 2 vols. (Westminster, Maryland, 1951–1955; repr. 1986), 1:104–107; Stephen Joseph Peter Van Dijk and Joan Hazeldon Walker, *Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, Maryland and London, 1960), pp. 57–65; Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, translated by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998), pp. 107–10; Michel Huglo and David Hiley, “Missal” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/18784> (consulted 18 July, 2011); and Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, *Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques*, Aedilis, Publications pédagogiques 6 (Paris-Orléans, 2007), “Les livres de la messe”, <http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/initiation-liturgie/messe.htm> (consulted 5 December 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 107–08, dates this development from eleventh century; Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:106 dates the development later, to the twelfth century, and states it was common in the thirteenth century, as does Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, p. xiii.

also, of course, ideal volumes for use during a private Mass when the priest was alone with one altar server, and they became useful volumes for parish churches, which commonly owned very few manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> In all cases, a Missal was the liturgical book used by the celebrant. Therefore, the most basic fact about all of the Bibles discussed in this essay is that we can assert confidently that they were owned, or used, by priests or bishops. This level of certainty about their original use and ownership sets these books apart from the vast majority of Late Medieval Bibles that include no direct evidence of their original owners.

Biblical readings are a central part of every Mass. The opening portion of the Eucharistic celebration, known as the Fore-Mass, consisted of biblical readings, usually two in number, although on certain feasts there were more.<sup>11</sup> The first reading was generally known as the Epistle, since on Sundays it was selected from the Pauline Epistles, even though it was at times drawn from other parts of the Bible. During the Easter season, for example, it was from Acts, and on some weekdays it was from the Old Testament. The second reading was always from the Gospels. Although these Mass readings or pericopes were taken from the Bible, Bibles were probably used for the readings during Mass only very early in the history of the Church.<sup>12</sup> Instead, a number of different types of books were used.

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<sup>10</sup> Although the historical development of the Missal thus predates the Bibles discussed here by several centuries, the reasons behind the development of the Missal help us understand the use of the Missal in the thirteenth century; some historians have emphasized the importance of the private Mass; for example, Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 1:109, "The complete missal is therefore the product not indeed of the predominance of the private Mass (which had long been in use), but at least of its general extension and its increased acceptance". Others, including Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 107–8, and Van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, p. 65, emphasize the changes in liturgical practice and the growing importance of the Parish Church.

<sup>11</sup> On Ember days and Wednesday and Friday during Holy Week, there were three lessons, beginning with an Old Testament reading; some Feasts such as the Easter Vigil included even more readings. This outline is generally true for Roman Use; certain liturgies included three readings for most feasts. See van Dijk, "Bible in Liturgical Use", pp. 224–26; Gy, "La Bible dans la liturgie", pp. 537–39; and Aimé Georges Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des Sources du moyen âge occidentale 64 (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 16–20. The biblical readings during the Mass are also discussed in Matti Peikola's essay in this volume.

<sup>12</sup> The biblical readings were marked within the text, and accompanied by lists of the readings, known as capitularies, listing the biblical texts read during Mass arranged in the order of the liturgical year (usually by their opening words and closing words); Martimort, *Les lectures*, pp. 21–26; and Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 87–89. Scholars have expressed different opinions on the question of whether Bibles were used as lectionaries for the Mass and Office; several have argued that they were in fact used in this way; the evidence is strongest for early medieval Bibles: see Richard Gameson, "The Royal 1.B.vii Gospels and English book production in the seventh and eighth centuries" in *The Early Medieval Bible*.

Gospel books, equipped with lists of the Gospel readings in liturgical order (capitularies or *capitulare evangeliorum*), were commonly used liturgically, especially early in the Middle Ages. A more practical solution, however, were Lectionaries, which included only the text of the pericopes arranged in the order of the liturgical year rather than in the order of the Bible. For most of the Middle Ages, Epistolaries (including the Epistle readings, read by the sub-deacon), Evangelaries (Gospel readings, chanted by the deacon), or Mass lectionaries that included both types of readings, were the usual liturgical books used for the Mass readings.<sup>13</sup> From the eleventh century on, the celebrant would have used a Missal to follow the readings as they were read or chanted by the sub-deacon and deacon. During a private Mass, or a Mass celebrated in some circumstance where fewer books were available (for example in a Parish Church), the readings were possibly recited from a Missal (or in the case of the Bible-Missals studied here, from the Bible).

The biblical readings in a Missal represent a significant proportion of its text. Combining a Bible and a Missal therefore offered obvious practical advantages. Nonetheless, as previously stated, there are no examples earlier than the thirteenth century. Why do Bible-Missals appear only in the thirteenth century? Two innovations made combined Bible-Missals possible. A Bible and a Missal copied together make up a very lengthy text. The ability to make a volume that included this amount of text depended on the availability of thinner parchment, and the ability to write smaller, more compact scripts within a more compressed written space. These technical innovations that made the creation of small portable one-volume Bibles possible, also made it possible to create Bible-Missals.<sup>14</sup>

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*Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 24–52, at p. 32, note 37; Patrick McGurk, “The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible” in *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 1–23, at pp. 17–18; and David Ganz, “Mass Production: Carolingian Bibles from Tours” in *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 53–62, at p. 59; Rosamund McKitterick, “Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours Anomaly” in *The Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 63–77, at pp. 75–76, is more cautious in her assessment of the use of ninth-century Bibles. For later Bibles, Diane Reilly has convincingly argued that Bibles were used for readings during the Office and in the refectory in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see note six above), but de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 73–76, suggests a different interpretation.

<sup>13</sup> Martimort, *Les lectures*, pp. 33–43; and Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 94–105. Mass Lectionaries including both the Gospel and Epistle readings seem not to have been very common; Palazzo, *Liturgical Books*, pp. 99–101; and the lists in Theodor Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner Ältesten Geschichte*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster in Westf., 1935), p. CXIV.

<sup>14</sup> Studied in detail in Chiara Ruzzier’s essay in this volume.

One-volume Bibles and Bibles with Missals are not the only examples of this trend. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the creation of numerous comprehensive volumes; at some level, the same impulse to gather texts together in one searchable volume, as well as the same technical innovations, lay behind the creation of one-volume portable Bibles, small, portable Breviaries, patristic manuscripts including numerous works by one author (or very long works such as Gregory's *Moralia* in a single volume), and collections of English parliamentary statutes, to name a few examples.<sup>15</sup>

The second prerequisite that made a Bible-Missal possible was the widespread use of numbered chapters, and the practice of using these chapters to identify biblical passages. This is a technical point, but one which is crucial to understand the essential practicality behind these combination volumes. In a Missal, the two readings for each Mass are copied out in full for each feast. As noted above, they take up a large proportion of a Missal. In combined Bible-Missals, the readings are identified briefly in the Missal section of the manuscript, and the complete text of the readings was found in the Bible section. The new thirteenth-century Bible was a book that assembled the complete Bible in one searchable volume, with easily identifiable and clearly numbered chapters. These chapters made it possible to include references in the text of the Missal that enabled the users of these books to find the readings in the biblical text itself. This use of the Bible, which any modern user would find quite commonplace, was in fact still new in the thirteenth century, made possible by changes in the format and organization of biblical manuscripts.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> On thirteenth-century comprehensive collections of patristic authors, see Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 36 and 40; Daniel A. Callus, "The Contribution to the Study of the Fathers Made by the Thirteenth-Century Oxford Schools", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5 (1954), 139–48, at 145–46; N. R. Ker, "The English Manuscripts of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great" in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber, pp. 77–89; and M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307*, second edition (Oxford, 1993), p. 135, and plate xvi.

<sup>16</sup> Biblical chapters are discussed in Paul Saenger's essay in this volume; and idem, "The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Divisions of the Latin Bible" in *La fractura historiográfica; las investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el tercer milenio*, ed. Javier Burguillo and Laura Mier (Salamanca, 2008), pp. 177–202. The lists of biblical readings for the Mass (capitularies or *capitula lectionum*) present a parallel development. Since the Gospels were divided from a very early date according to the Eusebian sections used in the Canon Tables, earlier Gospel lists commonly used these as their system of reference; lists of Epistles identify the reading only by its opening words, an imperfect solution that

The twenty-six Bibles examined here are briefly described in the Appendix. This essay will present a preliminary overview of their noteworthy characteristics, and then examine in detail the earliest examples. They are notably diverse in terms of their countries of origin, dates, size, level of execution, and liturgical use. In other words, they do not represent an isolated type of Bible copied in one locality, but instead, an idea or concept that was implemented throughout the thirteenth century across Europe. They were never a common type of Bible, but the number of surviving examples, together with their broad dispersal, is enough to suggest we are discussing a significant phenomenon.<sup>17</sup>

The majority of these Bible-Missals are French or English – nine were copied in France, eleven in England, two in Italy, and one in Spain; the origin of the remaining three examples, which I have not examined personally, has not been determined. The term Bible-Missal is used here to describe this group collectively, although three of the examples include liturgical texts for the Mass, but lack some of the essential texts found in a Missal.<sup>18</sup> The Missals in the remaining manuscripts vary – some encompass the complete liturgical year (the Tempore, Sanctore and Common of Saints), concluding with Votive Masses; others include only a smaller number of Masses, usually from Sanctore, together with Votive Masses. All the known examples are thirteenth-century. The earliest (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Codex 236) may date from the 1220s; the majority are from the second quarter of the century. Most were designed from the outset to function as both Bibles and Missals. The Mass texts were copied in formal hands, often by the scribes of the Vulgate text, or if not, in similar hands, with a similar degree of formality. The style of the initials and other decoration are also usually continuous

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explains the comparative rarity of these lists. The popularization of lists that include both Gospel and Epistle readings is a thirteenth-century innovation, since they also depended upon Bibles that were complete in one volume, and divided into a system of chapters that solved the problem of how to link the reading in the list with the corresponding biblical passage; see Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, pp. LXXI–LXXXI; Light, “Non-biblical texts”, pp. 173–75; and Peikola’s essay in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> I would be surprised if more examples of this type of manuscript do not turn up, but I would be equally surprised if many more additional examples surface.

<sup>18</sup> San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 51, fols. i r–xi r, includes introits, Epistle and Gospel readings for the diocese of Thérouanne added in the fourteenth century to a thirteenth-century English Bible; BnF, MS lat 216, now includes a fragment of the Canon, lists of Epistle and Gospel readings and prayers for the Offertorium; and Poitiers, BM, MS 12, includes Collects, secrets and postcommunion prayers, fols. 535r–536r.

within both the biblical and the Missal sections. This contrasts with many non-biblical texts found in Late Medieval Bibles that tend to be copied in a less formal manner than the text of the Bible itself, even when they are contemporary with the main text.

The Missals appear either at the beginning, at the end, or in the case of ten Bibles, in the middle of the volume between the Psalms and Proverbs. When the Missal is in the middle of the Bible – although not only in the case of these manuscripts – we can be fairly certain that it is original. Four of the French examples,<sup>19</sup> five of the English Bibles,<sup>20</sup> and KBR, MS 14 (8882), which I have not examined personally, include the Missal section following the Psalms.<sup>21</sup> We can only speculate on why the Missals were placed following the Psalms in the middle of the biblical text. It may simply have been a practical choice, since a book open to the middle tends to stay open. Placement in the middle of the volume also parallels the position of the Canon of the Mass in the middle of most Missals. This location may also be linked to the liturgical importance of the Psalms; the Psalms were the main text of the Divine Office, and they are sometimes followed by the biblical canticles or other liturgical texts in Late Medieval Bibles.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202; London and Oslo, Schøyen Collection, MS 115; London, on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral, Law Society, MS 3 [107.f.]; and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 29. Three French Bibles, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 236 and BnF lat. 36, and lat. 16266 include the Missal at the end of the biblical text. The Missal is placed at the beginning before the Bible in two French Bibles, Private Collection (London, Christie's, June 13, 2012, lot 7), and BL, MS Add. 57531.

<sup>20</sup> San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 26061; BnF, MS lat. 215; and BL, MS Harley 1748 (in this case the Missal follows the Psalms, and is followed by Maccabees, because of the order of the biblical books), and the two Bibles illuminated by William de Brailes or his workshop, Bodl., MS Lat. bib.e.7, and BL, MS Harley 2813. The Missal is at the end of the following English Bibles: BnF, MS lat. 10431, Cambridge, St. John's College, MS N.1, and Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3, as well as in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16, which is probably English; the added Mass texts in San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 51, are found at the beginning.

<sup>21</sup> In Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 31, a Spanish Bible, the Missal is original and included before the Bible on fols. 1r-4v. The Mass texts are added at the end of the Italian Bible, BnF, MS lat 216. The Missal is also at the end in Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS III (AD.X.44) (not examined personally, of unknown origin). The Missal is at the beginning of BAV, MS Ottob. lat. 532.

<sup>22</sup> Poleg, *Mediations of the Bible*, p. 203, discussing a Bible with a calendar between Psalms and Proverbs as both a practical location, and one in keeping with the liturgical role of the Psalms; in note 132 he lists other Bibles with liturgical material in this location. See also Consuelo Dutschke, with the assistance of Richard H. Rouse et al., *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, California, 1989), p. 649.



The size of these Bible-Missals varies; although none is a very large volume, nine measure over 200 mm in height. Of these nine books, three are monastic in origin. The largest, BnF, MS lat. 36, measuring 310 × 195 (202 × 120-2) mm, is Cistercian, as is BnF, MS lat. 10431, which measures 242 × 174 (168-3 × 106-3) mm. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS N.1 measures 255 × 180 mm and was made for a Gilbertine House. San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 26061, is also moderately large, measuring 220 × 154 (156 × 103) mm, and may have been made for a house of Canons Regular.<sup>23</sup> One of these larger Bibles, however, Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202, 225 × 154 (143 × 90-88) mm, is Franciscan, and another, Poitiers, BM, MS 12, 206 × 135 mm, is Dominican, reminding us that not all mendicant books were very small. In general, with the exception of BnF lat. 36, these books are somewhat smaller than many Missals copied independently, although Missals of comparable size certainly exist. Missals vary greatly in size, but large volumes measuring ca. 365-380 × 265 mm, and slightly smaller manuscripts measuring ca. 330 × 220 mm are both common.<sup>24</sup>

The remaining seventeen Bible-Missals are small volumes, measuring less than 200 mm in height, and most of these are in fact mendicant in origin; three are Franciscan, six are Dominican, and one includes added texts that attest to use by Dominicans at a later date.<sup>25</sup> The original use of all but one of the remaining books has not been determined; it is certainly possible that many of these were Franciscan or Dominican books as well. BL, MS Add. 57531, however, serves as a warning against hasty generalizations, since it is clearly Cistercian in origin, and measures only 163 × 128

<sup>23</sup> Dutschke, *Guide*, pp. 650 and 654, suggests it may have originated in a house of Canons Regular dedicated to the Virgin and the archangel Michael since it includes a Votive Mass on fol. 182v, "pro fratribus congregationis ..." invoking them; other evidence suggests it belonged to a Franciscan or another cleric from Oxford at an early date.

<sup>24</sup> To my knowledge, there is no study of the format of medieval Missals. The examples used here are based on the dimensions of Missals described in Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, 2. *Sacramentaires, épistoliers, évangéliques, graduels, missels*, Studi e Testi 253 (Vatican City, 1969). See also *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, ed., Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova (London, 2005), pp. 128-29, cat. no. 46, describing Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 3, as a typical example of a Sarum Missal; it is fifteenth-century and measures 328 × 228 mm.

<sup>25</sup> Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3, BL, MS Harley 2813, and London, Law Society, MS 3 (107.f) are Franciscan; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 31, BnF, MS lat. 163, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16, Bodl., MS Lat. bib.e.7, London and Oslo, Schøyen Collection, MS 115, and BnF, MS lat. 215 are Dominican; Private Collection (London, Christie's, June 13, 2012, lot 7) includes added Dominican texts.

(115 × 86) mm. The size of the smaller Bibles ranges from the Franciscan example, Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3, 198 × 150 mm, to the smallest, also Franciscan, London, Law Society, MS 3 (107.f), which measures only 123 × 79 mm.<sup>26</sup> The very smallest of these Bibles are certainly smaller than most Missals copied independently; nonetheless, portable Missals were copied, and many of these are quite small, measuring less than 200 mm in height.<sup>27</sup>

The illumination of these Bibles is not our subject. Nonetheless, it should be noted that many are very fine luxurious books with distinguished illumination, for example University of Pennsylvania Codex 236 (figs. 8.1 and 8.2), BnF lat. 36, Bodl., MS Lat. bib.e.7, BnF lat. 10431, and Huntington HM 26061.<sup>28</sup> Books such as Boston, MS qMed 202 and BL, MS Harley 1748, in contrast, lack illumination and must have been less expensive.

The earliest example of a combined Bible-Missal is University of Pennsylvania Codex 236 (figs. 8.1 and 8.2). This is an exceptionally interesting volume in all respects, and one of considerable importance to our understanding of the history of the Late Medieval Bible; its existence is evidence that the new Paris Bibles, and other contemporary Bibles, were shaped, at least in part, by liturgical needs. Following the biblical text in this manuscript is a complete Missal, beginning with the Prefaces and Canon, followed by the variable texts for the Mass for the liturgical year, arranged as usual according to the Temporale, Sanctorale, and Common of Saints, and concluding with Votive Masses. In the Missal, the Mass pericopes for each feast are listed by their opening words, followed by the biblical book, chapter number, and often “in principio”, “in medio”, or “in fine” to help identify their location. The complete text of the pericopes was, of course, found in the Bible section of the manuscript. Since the pericopes are not explicitly marked, the user of the book would have had to identify them within the relevant biblical chapter by their opening words. The Missal is followed by a Breviary, again quite complete; the texts for the Divine Office conclude with a section of hymns without musical notation.

<sup>26</sup> The smallest Bibles in the group are Oslo and London, Schøyen Collection, MS 115 and BnF, lat. 215, both Dominican; and two (not examined personally) of unknown use, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 29 and KBR, MS 14 (8882).

<sup>27</sup> Again, a study of the portable Missal is needed; examples of small-format Missals include Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques*, cat. nos. 302, 322, 323, 392, 429, and 441; all but two of these are described as Dominican or Franciscan; the smallest, cat. 323, measures 145 × 106 mm.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix for relevant bibliography.

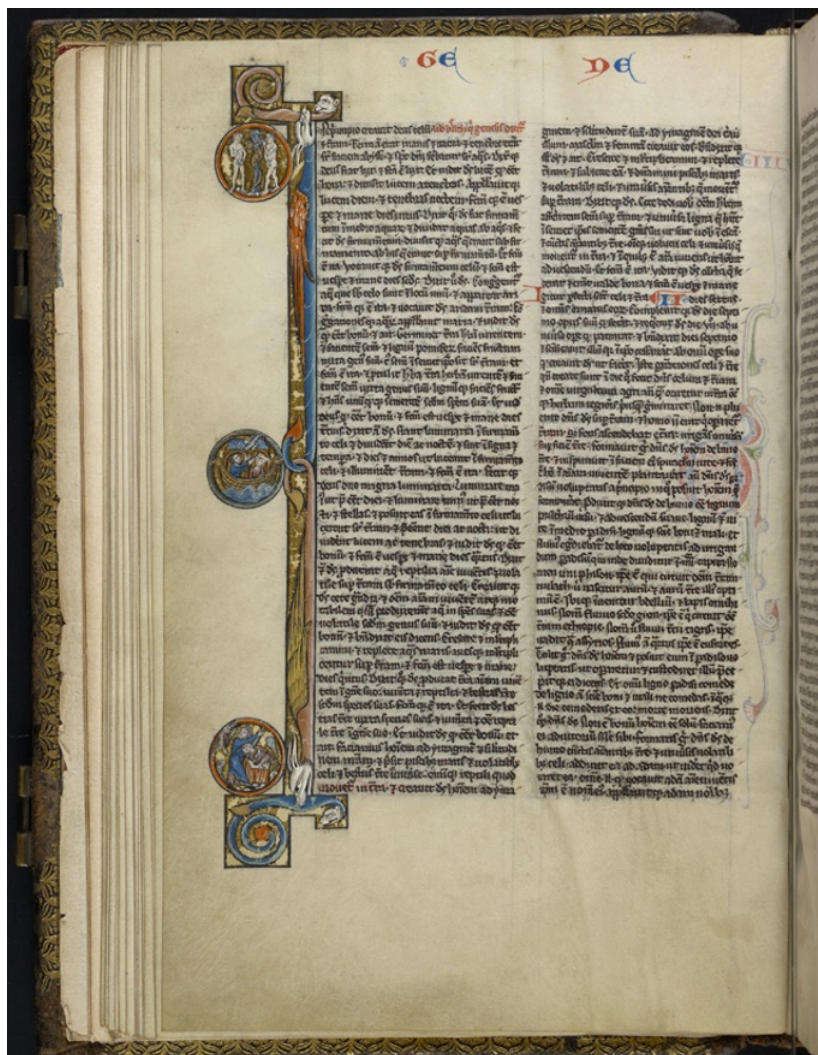


Figure 8.1. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Codex 236, fol. 30v (Genesis).

In the Breviary, there are nine lessons for major feasts, and we can thus rule out a monastic origin. It could have been made for a house of Canons, or for a secular priest. Beyond this, however, it is hard to say exactly for whom this innovative book was made. It is therefore an important manuscript to examine in some detail.



Figure 8.2. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Codex 236, fol. 402v (Missal, Crucifixion).

It is a volume of moderate size, now measuring  $218 \times 152$  (written space,  $150 \times 92$ ) mm, which includes a miniature of the Crucifixion at the beginning of the Canon of the Mass, and historiated initials before thirty-two of the biblical books. In almost pristine condition, this lovely Bible bears remarkably few signs of use.<sup>29</sup> Based on the evidence of its script and

<sup>29</sup> Some comments on the style of the illumination are included in *Leaves of Gold. Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James Tanis and Jennifer Thompson (Philadelphia, 2001), no. 2, pp. 27–29; further study would be of interest.

decoration, it was certainly made in northern France, possibly in Paris. The calendar that precedes the Missal includes a number of feasts associated with Paris, including the translation of Eligius, 1212 (25 vi), the translation of Marcellus, bishop of Paris, 1200 (26 vii), Samson (8 vii), Magloire (24 x) and Genevieve (26 xi)<sup>30</sup>; moreover, it lacks saints that point strongly to anywhere else. The saints included in the calendar suggest that it dates from after 1218 and probably before 1228/35, since it includes William of Bourges (10 i), canonized in 1218, but nothing later; for example it lacks the translation of Thomas Becket (7 vii), 1220, Francis (4 x, usually 3 x in Paris), 1228, Dominic (5 viii), 1234, Fiacre (30 viii), 1234, Elizabeth (19 xi), 1235, and the reception of the Crown of Thorns (11 viii), 1239. A date in the 1220s is in general in keeping with the style of the pen-initials and illumination, despite the fact that it is written below the top line, which ordinarily would suggest a date after ca. 1230.<sup>31</sup>

If this manuscript does in fact date from the 1220s, it is one of the earliest examples of a Bible copied with only the modern chapter divisions (the chapters commonly attributed to Stephen Langton) – capitula lists and older chapter divisions are lacking. It is also an equally early example of a Bible with the Interpretations of Hebrew Names in the version beginning “Aaz apprehendens ...”, in this case placed at the beginning instead of at the end.<sup>32</sup> The biblical books follow the order of the Paris Bible, with the exception that Tobit is followed by Esther and Judith. It includes four of the six prologues new to manuscripts of the Bible without the Gloss that were included in the Proto-Paris Bibles from ca. 1200, as well as in the Paris Bibles of ca. 1230 and later: the two prologues to Maccabees by Hrabanus Maurus, “Cum sim promptus”, and “Memini me” (Stegmüller 547 and 553), the prologue to Amos, “Hic Amos” (Stegmüller 513), and the prologue to the Apocalypse, beginning “Omnes qui pie” (Stegmüller 839), which was

<sup>30</sup> Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits de bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934) 1:cxii–cxiii; and Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St. Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), p. 197.

<sup>31</sup> N. R. Ker, “From ‘Above Top Line’ to ‘Below Top Line’: A Change in Scribal Practice” in *Books, Collectors and Libraries. Studies in Medieval Heritage*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London and Ronceverte, West Virginia, 1985), pp. 71–74, at p. 72; although this has proven to be a very valuable tool in dating formally-produced manuscripts from thirteenth-century France and England, there are certainly exceptions; numerous examples exist of manuscripts copied after ca. 1230 which are copied above the top ruled line, and this may be an example of a manuscript dating before ca. 1230 copied below the top ruled line.

<sup>32</sup> See Eyal Poleg’s essay in this volume. There are examples of Bibles dating before ca. 1230 with different versions Interpretations of Hebrew Names, for example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 48 (see Saenger, “Anglo-Hebraic”, p. 191) and Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 65, but they are exceptional.

evidently omitted while copying and added by the scribe at the end of the book; the Prayer of Manasses, usually found at the end of 2 Chronicles in the Paris Bible, is also added, but at the beginning of the book. Lacking are the new prologues to Ecclesiastes “Memini Me” (Stegmüller 462) from Jerome’s commentary on Ecclesiastes and the prologue to Matthew “Matheus cum primo” (Stegmüller 589).<sup>33</sup> It also includes numerous additional prologues not found in the Paris Bible, in particular short prologues excerpted from Jerome’s Epistle to Paulinus before the Minor Prophets, and a very full array of prologues before the Gospels.<sup>34</sup> Overall, the evidence of the prologues suggests this Bible’s primary exemplar was not a Proto-Paris Bible, but that the scribe had one (or possibly a very early Paris Bible) at hand, which he also consulted.<sup>35</sup> A Paris or a Proto-Paris Bible from this date would very likely have been copied in Paris; however, a Bible like this one that is textually not a Paris Bible (although it was influenced by that text) could have been copied in Paris or elsewhere. Nonetheless, although the question must remain an open one, the influence of the Paris Bible on the text of this manuscript, together with the evidence of the calendar, does suggest that it was probably copied in Paris. Every aspect of this book was new – not only the presence of both a Missal and a Breviary, but also its format, the text and the presentation of the Bible, the chapter divisions, and the inclusion of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names – and this seminal volume was created to serve a liturgical purpose, combining, in a unique way, a Bible, a Missal and a Breviary.

<sup>33</sup> On the new prologues, see Laura Light, “French Bibles c.1200–1230: A New Look at the Origin of the Paris Bible” in *Early Medieval Bible*, pp. 155–76, at pp. 164–66, and Lobrichon, “Les Éditions”, pp. 120–21.

<sup>34</sup> Prologues: +Joshua, “Hic filius nave” (Stegmüller 307); + Ps, “David filius iesse” (Stegmüller 414), “Psalterium rome” (Stegmüller 430), + Song of Songs: “Temptemus primum” (Stegmüller 467); + Is, “Ysaia in ierusalem” (Stegmüller 480) + Jerem.: “Jeremias anathethites” (Stegmüller 486), with additional prologues to minor prophets, Obadiah through Malachi, from Jerome’s Epistle to Paulinus (Stegmüller 516, 522, 525, 527, 529, 532, 535, 540, 544), + Mathew (Stegmüller 595, 601, 596, 212[?]), +Pauline Epistles (Stegmüller 670), +Romans (Stegmüller 674) and +James (Stegmüller 808); the *Oratio Manasses*, usually found after 2 Chronicles is copied before Genesis on fol. 27v, Ecclesiasticus ends with the *Oratio Salomon*; Luke begins “Quoniam quidem” (Lk 1.1–4, the biblical preface to the book, copied as a prologue in the Paris Bible); lacking are the prologues to 2 Chronicles (Stegmüller 327), Esther (Stegmüller 343), Ecclesiastes (Stegmüller 462), and Matthew (Stegmüller 489); the prologue to the Apocalypse (Stegmüller 839) is added at the end of the book.

<sup>35</sup> An examination of selected textual passages confirms this impression; although Codex 236 includes some readings found in Paris Bibles (for example, the text at Ruth 1.7 reads “revertendi postita”) in numerous other passages it lacks these readings.

The second early French example is BnF, MS lat. 36; in contrast to the previous example, we know from its liturgical use that this Bible was made for a Cistercian House, and it bears a fourteenth-century ex-libris from the Cistercian Abbey of Froidemont in the diocese of Beauvais. It includes a prologue to the Interpretations of Hebrew Names dated 1234, and the evidence of its script and decoration suggests it was probably made not long after. The most recent saint in the Sanctorale is Robert of Molesmes (29 iv), canonized in 1222, found in the margin on fol. 364r. It is a fairly large book – the largest of the Bibles studied here – that one can easily imagine on an altar. All the evidence in the manuscript – the style of the illumination, attributed by Robert Branner to the Gautier Lebaude workshop,<sup>36</sup> pen decoration and script – supports an origin in Paris; the order of the books, prologues, and text are those typically found in the Paris Bible, with the exception that it lacks the prologue to 2 Chronicles (Stegmüller 327).<sup>37</sup>

The Missal in BnF lat. 36 is complete and found at the end of the volume. Lat. 36 solved the essential problem of how to find the readings for the Mass within the Bible with considerable ingenuity. Each double page opening is numbered in Roman numerals, found in the top, outer margin of the verso. Folio numbers are quite uncommon in manuscripts from this date. Within the Missal, the Epistle and Gospel readings are listed in the margins alongside the entry for the relevant feast, and include their opening words, the folio numbers and a special symbol, that allowed the reader to find the readings in the Bible itself. The symbols are copied in the margins of the biblical text alongside the readings. The folio references in the Missal are accompanied with dots either before or after the number. At the end of the Missal is a list of the Epistle and Gospel readings arranged according to the liturgical year with a rubric beginning, “*Ordo epistolarum et evangelistarum totius anni secundum ordinem cisterciensem ...*”, and then continuing with an explanation that the location of the reading on a double-page opening is indicated by a system of points – a single point

<sup>36</sup> Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 213, and fig. 152.

<sup>37</sup> This prologue is also often lacking in Proto-Paris Bibles. Lat. 36 exhibits a number of unique features. It includes both modern chapters and older chapters, and also includes marginal cross references using older chapter divisions also found in the Proto-Paris Bible, BnF, MS lat. 14233. Lat. 36 is an example of a book copied in a professional atelier in Paris for Cistercian use (the College of St. Bernard, the Cistercian house of studies, officially founded in 1245, may have existed since the 1220s); Cistercian texts and methods also influenced Parisian book production; see Rouse and Rouse, *Manipulus florum*, p. 17.

preceding the folio reference indicates the first column, two points, the second, a point following the folio number, the third, and two points following the number, the fourth column; in addition to the points and folio numbers, the symbols are also repeated here.<sup>38</sup> This Bible-Missal is an important example of the innovative layout and indexing techniques that were a distinctive feature in a number of Cistercian books from the later-twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Once again, it is worth underlining that this early Paris Bible, with its sophisticated system of references, was designed for liturgical use.

A second Cistercian example, BL, MS Add. 57531, is a well-executed, expensive manuscript, but far from lavish. It is copied on good-quality parchment in a careful, formal script, and is decorated with well-executed pen initials, but includes no painted initials. As we have already noted, it is much smaller than BnF lat. 36, measuring 163 × 28 (115 × 86) mm. Among the saints in the Sanctorale are Peter martyr, who was canonized in 1253; his feast was observed by Cistercians on 28 April in 1255, and moved to 30 April in 1256; here his feast is found after the Invention of the Holy Cross on 3 May, an error perhaps supporting a date right around 1253–1256, when the feast was new. Also included are the Cistercian saints William of Bourges (can. 1218, 10 i), Robert of Molesme (can. 1222, 29 iv), Bernard (20 viii), and Edmund Rich (can. 1246, obs. Cist. 1247, 16 xi). The Missal is at the beginning of the volume, and is complete, including the Temporale, Prefaces and Canon, the Sanctorale, Common of Saints, the dedication of a church, Votive Masses, and blessings.<sup>39</sup>

Add. 57531 is another excellent example of resourceful Cistercian book making; readings in the Missal are almost always listed by their opening

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<sup>38</sup> Richard Rouse, "Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century" in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History 2*, ed. J. R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series 24 (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1976), pp. 123–34, at 129–30, describes a different but similar method of foliation using letters and dots created by the Cistercians of Ter Duinen and its daughterhouse Ter Doest on outskirts of Bruges. The Cistercian involvement in preaching against heresy from the late twelfth century predates that of the Dominicans; see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Rochester, NY, 2001). The Rouses have linked the innovations shown by the Cistercians in both the form of the book and the development of new tools to their preaching mission. The importance of responding to liturgical needs is evidenced in the Bible studied here.

<sup>39</sup> Given the interest in the question of the degree of uniformity among Cistercian Bibles, a comparison between this book and BnF lat. 36 is of interest – Add. 57531 has no relationship to the Paris text, in terms of prologues or textual readings (it is arranged according to the order found in the Paris Bible, with the exception that Baruch is at the end, and does include the Interpretations of Hebrew Names).



words, the biblical book and chapter number in roman numerals, and a letter reference, 'a' through 'g' that indicates the location of the reading within the chapter;<sup>40</sup> within the Bible itself, great care is taken to mark the liturgical pericopes; the corresponding letters were copied in the margin alongside the beginning of the reading, and two rather bold red dots were placed above the opening and closing words, with an 'f' copied in the margin marking the end.

As noted above, the text of the Missals in each of the Bible-Missals varies; a full study and comparison of their texts remains for further research. It is, however, noteworthy, that University of Pennsylvania Codex 236 (fols. 421r-456v), and two of the Cistercian Bible-Missals, BnF lat. 36 (fols. 357r-372r) and BL Add. 57531 (fols. 1r-55v) include complete Missals with the Prefaces, Canon, and Masses for the full liturgical year, including the Temporale, the Sanctorale, Common of Saints, and concluding with Votive Masses and Masses for the dead.<sup>41</sup>

Cambridge, St. John's College, MS N. 1, is one of the largest of the Bibles studied here, measuring 255 × 180 mm. Its Missal is found on fols. 381–388, on the last eight leaves of the last quire of the Bible. Although this Missal is not complete, its texts are comprehensive, and include the Proper Prefaces, the Canon, and seventeen Masses for the most important liturgical feasts, with Temporale and Sanctorale mixed, followed by Votive Masses, the Common of Saints and Masses for the dead. The Missal and calendar included in this Bible are among the relatively few liturgical texts surviving from the English monastic order of the Gilbertines. Reginald Woolley, who edited the surviving Gilbertine liturgical material, observed that this Bible only includes texts that are proper to the Gilbertine Rite (that is, another Missal would have been required for the texts for other occasions). In his opinion, this Bible-Missal was "a norm or standard text

<sup>40</sup> Numbered verses are a sixteenth-century innovation; on the use of letters to divide biblical chapters, which are usually "virtual" (that is, understood and used for reference, but not actually written in the manuscript), and are found copied in the margins only occasionally, see Paul Saenger, "The Impact of the Early Printed Page on the Reading of the Bible" in *The Bible as Book. The First Printed Editions*, ed. Paul Saenger and Kimberly van Kampen (London, 1999), pp. 31–51, at pp. 35–36; idem, "The British Isles and the Origin of the Modern Mode of Biblical Citation", *Syntagma* 1 (2008), 77–122, at pp. 87–97; and Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, "The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures", *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5–30, at pp. 22–3.

<sup>41</sup> BnF, MS lat. 10431 is also a Cistercian Bible-Missal, and one of exceptional interest given the wide range of non-biblical texts it includes in addition to the Missal (see Appendix); its Missal is abbreviated.

of the Gilbertine Kalendar and the Mass services, and never intended for use at the altar."<sup>42</sup> His theory is, of course, possible, but difficult to prove one way or another. It is my view, however, that most (and possibly all) of the Bible-Missals studied here were made for their most obvious purpose – that is, as both Bibles and as the liturgical book used by the priest. In support of this, we may note that the Crucifixion miniatures in Huntington, HM 26061, and BnF, MS lat. 10431 are now smudged from the practice of kissing the image of the Cross; these books thus preserve clear evidence of actual liturgical use during Mass.<sup>43</sup>

The earliest English example of a Bible which includes texts for the Mass is the well-known one illuminated in Oxford by William de Brailes, Bodl., MS Lat. bib.e.7. This is the earliest manuscript securely attributed to de Brailes.<sup>44</sup> Although some scholars have suggested an earlier date, liturgical evidence supports a date after 1234, since it includes a Mass for St. Dominic, who was canonized in that year, perhaps ca. 1234–40.<sup>45</sup> Three features of this manuscript set it apart from our previous examples. First is its size, since this is a true example of a portable or pocket Bible, measuring only 168 × 108 (119.7 × 74) mm. Second, the Mass texts are found between the Psalms and Proverbs, rather than at the end or at the beginning of the volume; and third, it does not include a complete Missal, but instead only selected Masses. Although small, it is an elaborate Bible, and includes historiated initials before almost all of the biblical books. As Richard Pfaff has commented, the lavishness of its illumination seems at odds with ownership by a Friar, but there is little doubt that liturgically it

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<sup>42</sup> *The Gilbertine Rite*, ed. Reginald Maxwell Woolley (London, 1921–1922), 1:xvi; see also Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 308. John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), p. 61, goes to the extent of suggesting that most surviving liturgical manuscripts were “source copies used only for reference, teaching or copying” – which to this writer seems unlikely.

<sup>43</sup> I thank Martin Morard for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>44</sup> Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991) p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts. Volume I. 1190–1250* (London, 1982), no. 69, pp. 114–16, ills. 226–227, dating the manuscript ca. 1234–1240, since it includes a Mass for St. Dominic. Morgan did not accept the earlier argument that the manuscript dates from after 1221, the year the Dominican House in Oxford was founded, and before 1233–34 because the Mass for the translation of Dominic is added in the margin, and the Mass for Dominic (canonized in 1234) refers to him as “beatus” rather than “sanctus”. Morgan’s argument that the Mass for Dominic would not have been included before his canonization is convincing.

was made for a Dominican; it is important as one of the earliest surviving English Dominican Missals.<sup>46</sup>

BL, MS Harley 2813, a Bible recently identified by Peter Kidd as a product of De Brailes or his workshop, is in many respects similar, although it is less elaborately decorated,<sup>47</sup> and it was made for a Franciscan rather than a Dominican. It is a small Bible, measuring 183 × 133 (114 × 74) mm. The Missal between Psalms and Proverbs on fols. 227r-236v, although abbreviated, is quite extensive. It begins with a series of ten Masses (for the Trinity, the Holy Cross, Angels, St. Francis, and so forth), followed by the Prefaces and Canon, and then, among other texts, Votive Masses, Masses for the dead, Masses from the Common of Saints, blessings for salt and water, sequences, the Apostles' Creed, and a Mass for the feast of Mary Magdalene.<sup>48</sup> The references to the biblical readings in this Missal usually include the biblical book, the chapter (identified by an Arabic numeral) and the opening words of the reading, although some readings, oddly, appear to be copied in full within the Missal. These two manuscripts are classic examples of small, portable Bibles with abbreviated Missals made for the use of itinerant Dominican and Franciscan Friars.

Bibles with Missals have a curiously dominant place in the history of the liturgy in thirteenth-century England. Two English witnesses to the Dominican liturgy before the reforms introduced by Humbert of Romans (Master General of the Dominicans, 1254–1263) in 1256 – and probably the only two – are both Bibles with Missals, the De Brailes Bible now in Oxford that we have just discussed, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16.<sup>49</sup> Among the five surviving thirteenth-century English

<sup>46</sup> Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 313.

<sup>47</sup> Kidd, "A Franciscan Bible"; this Bible now includes only two historiated initials (for the General Prologue and John); the remaining biblical books begin with painted initials.

<sup>48</sup> Kidd, "A Franciscan Bible", manuscript described in detail, pp. 16–20; Kidd observed that it includes indexing symbols of the sort used by Robert Grosseteste; see p. 12, note 19, and Fig. 15, reproducing a detail of fol. 250r with the beginning of Ecclesiasticus, showing the symbols. Although he states the symbols are also found in Proverbs, the matter needs further study, since their use in Proverbs seems to be as tie marks followed by notes, rather than as indexing symbols. Huntington HM 26061 also includes indexing symbols, and therefore may be associated with the Franciscans, even if it was made for a House of Canons. Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202, which is Franciscan, but probably from Southern France and clearly not from Oxford, also includes indexing symbols that should be investigated.

<sup>49</sup> Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 313–14; although MS McClean 16 has always been considered English (and is accepted as such by Pfaff), and was certainly in England at an early date, there is a possibility that it was copied in Paris.

Franciscan liturgical manuscripts, there is also a Bible with a Missal, Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, all three illuminated Missals included in Nigel Morgan's survey of Gothic manuscripts from England dating 1190–1250 are Bibles with Missals (Bodl., MS Lat. bib.e.7, San Marino, Huntington, HM 26061, and BnF lat. 10431).<sup>51</sup> These manuscripts, we can assume, were preserved because the biblical text was considered sacred during the Reformation, whereas Catholic liturgical books were discarded as irrelevant, or worse.

The partial Missals in Mendicant Bibles usually include the Prefaces, the Canon, and Votive Masses, including Masses for the Dead, with a few Proper Masses. Although the previous two examples were both English, another example, London, Law Society MS 3 (107.f) is French, and probably made for a Franciscan. Its Mass texts include the Prefaces and Canon, followed by a series of Votive Masses of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Cross, of the Virgin, for the dead ("pro uno defuncto", "pro una defuncta", "pro defunctis fratris", "pro defunctis", "pro vivis et defunctis", "in agenda mortuorum"), against the persecutors of the Church, for peace, for the sick, and a Mass for St. Francis, followed by blessings of salt and water, three more Votive Masses, and prayers and cues for the burial service. Its Missal is similar in contents to those in MS Harley 2813 and Boston MS qMed 202. The Missals in the Bibles made for Dominicans in general appear to be even briefer, and are often accompanied by a calendar.<sup>52</sup>

The number of Bible-Missals with Franciscan and Dominican connections should not be surprising. Traveling friars were often provided with portable Breviaries and Bibles, and a manuscript that was both a Missal and a Bible must have been a very useful volume.<sup>53</sup> The content of

<sup>50</sup> Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 325. The paucity of surviving English liturgical books is discussed in Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, "The Bury Missal in Laon and its Crucifixion Miniature", *Gesta* 17 (1978), 27–35, at p. 32, note 1.

<sup>51</sup> Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*.

<sup>52</sup> Dominican examples with very brief Missals include BnF lat. 215 (fols. 259v–263r) and the Schøyen collection Bible (fols. 214r–217v), both of which also include calendars, as well the De Brailles Bible, Bodl., MS Lat. bib. e. 7 (fols. 199r–204r), which lacks a calendar. The Missal in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16 (also Dominican), in contrast, is extensive and complete. Further research, including a careful comparison of the text of the Missals in these Bibles, is needed.

<sup>53</sup> A study of small portable Missals owned by Dominicans and Franciscans, as well as these Bible-Missals, is a desideratum. K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars, 1215–1400* (Amsterdam, 1964), mentions Dominican legislation related to Bibles,

the Missals in these books, with their focus on Votive Masses, suggest their primary use was for private Masses said by traveling Friars, rather than for the conventual Masses said as part of the daily liturgy in Franciscan and Dominican Houses. Votive Masses were not necessarily private Masses, but private Masses were customarily said for special intentions. In the Dominican prototype of 1256 (Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV.L.I, prepared while Humbert of Romans was Master General to serve as a normative exemplar for Dominican liturgical books), two Missals are specified, one for High Mass and another for the side altar ("Missale conventuale," and "Missale minorum altarium"). The fact that traveling friars needed Missals as well as Breviaries is demonstrated by the fact that the "Missale minorum altarium" and the portable Breviary were intentionally left out (they are not in the table of contents) of the copy of the prototype made for Humbert to use when he traveled (now BL, MS Add. 23935), presumably because the General would have always carried these books for his own use, and thus had no need of additional copies.<sup>54</sup>

As we have noted, many of these Bible-Missals are not only very small, but were copied in tiny script, and they do raise the question of practicality; how did a celebrant read from these books? Other scholars have been struck by this conundrum: Richard Pfaff mentions it frequently when discussing Bible-Missals, very small Breviaries and Missals, coining a new term for these books which he calls "eye-strain volumes".<sup>55</sup> Part of the answer may be found in the importance of memory; priests using these

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Breviaries and textbooks provided for the brothers, but Humphreys does not quote any legislation mentioning a Missal. On p. 57, he cites examples of Franciscan books, including Missals, kept in the sacristy in Venice in 1280, and Assisi in 1338, but again, there is no mention of Missals provided to traveling Friars for their own use; see Humphreys, pp. 18–66. St. Francis, it may be noted, seems to have discouraged private Masses and saw one conventual Mass daily as the ideal for Franciscan houses, saying that he hoped friars who were priests would forgo saying their own private Mass out of charity; Van Dijk, *Origins*, pp. 51–52.

<sup>54</sup> Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), p. 91; and William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), pp. 84, 93–94 and 96. On the Dominican Prototype, see *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine: le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. Leonard E. Boyle, Pierre-Marie Gy with the collaboration of Pawels Krupa (Rome and Paris, 2004).

<sup>55</sup> Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 325, discussing Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3, remarks: "The book was certainly made to be used, but again, whether any celebrant could read such tiny writing as is displayed in, notably, the proper prefaces, is doubtful. To use it while celebrating the priest would have had to pick up the book at such points, and, of necessity holding it open with both hands, peer at it."

books probably knew many of the Mass prayers by heart, and the Missal was therefore primarily a reminder and a supplement to his memory.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, although we may question how easy it was to read these books, they were undoubtedly read and used liturgically. A very small combined Bible-Missal was easy to carry, and certainly would have been a boon for a traveling Friar, whether it was used to say private Masses, or to even at times to say Mass for a congregation (the availability of liturgical books at the parish level probably varied widely).<sup>57</sup>

In conclusion, we may ask what is the importance of this newly-defined group of Late Medieval Bibles? Does this group (one whose intrinsic interest we hope has been adequately communicated here), have any wider significance to the history of the medieval Vulgate? First, we can state that the existence of this group is evidence that thirteenth-century Bibles were used liturgically. This may seem to be a very basic point, but it is not self-evident, and it is crucial evidence in evaluating Bibles with other types of liturgical texts, including those with liturgical calendars,<sup>58</sup> and most significantly, those with capitularies, or lists of Epistle and Gospel pericopes for the liturgical year.<sup>59</sup> Although these lists are the most common liturgical addition to Late Medieval Bibles (extant in many more copies than Bibles with complete Missals), how these texts were actually used has not been resolved. Sermon themes were often chosen from the Mass readings of the day, and these lists certainly may have been used by preachers composing sermons. Another possibility, suggested by Paul Saenger, is that Bibles with capitularies enabled people to follow the readings in their own copies during Mass.<sup>60</sup> Even given the lack of direct evidence to support this theory, it is an interesting one, especially in light of the importance of the daily Mass readings in the vernacular in the later Middle Ages, and

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<sup>56</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 61, stresses that in the early Middle Ages most of the Choir sang from memory.

<sup>57</sup> All of these books, of course, did not belong to Franciscans and Dominicans: other priests traveled, and their affordability – compared with acquiring a Bible and a Missal, or a larger example of either – may also have been an attraction.

<sup>58</sup> Calendars are a common liturgical addition; Light, “Non-biblical texts”, p. 177, lists sixteen; there are many more.

<sup>59</sup> For Bibles with capitularies, or lists of biblical pericopes, see note 16 above.

<sup>60</sup> Saenger, “Impact of the Early Printed Page”, p. 35, discussing Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 19, a very small Franciscan Bible, with a list of pericopes for the Mass; Poleg, *Mediations of the Bible*, pp. 204–05, discusses lists of readings, noting that some may have been used during the liturgy, and others, in smaller Bibles, for the preparation of sermons.

the prevalence of capitularies in English Wycliffite Bibles.<sup>61</sup> The question can at least be raised whether private meditation and devotion, focusing on the Mass pericopes, might have been important in Latin as well in the vernacular.<sup>62</sup> The existence of Bible-Missals – volumes that were certainly used liturgically – however, suggests that the liturgical use of Bibles with lists of Mass readings was not only possible, but indeed, quite likely.

Secondly, this group of Bibles is evidence that the re-organization of the Bible in the period ca. 1220–1235 – a period of creativity and innovation manifested in the reorganization of the Vulgate both textually and physically – was in part shaped by liturgical needs. Although the exact provenance of University of Pennsylvania Codex 236 remains uncertain, this innovative volume that includes both a Breviary and a Missal must have been designed to accommodate liturgical use. The creation of new tools and systems of reference by the Cistercians in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries were certainly in part answers to needs presented by their role as preachers, but the Cistercian Bibles studied here, especially BnF lat. 36, suggests that they were also created to address new liturgical needs.<sup>63</sup> Even the portable Bibles owned by the Dominicans and Franciscans, almost always presented as manuscripts for preachers, now should be seen, at least in part, as designed for liturgical use.

The link between the Bible and the liturgy must therefore always be at the forefront of our minds when we are trying to understand the use of the Late Medieval Bible. The new format and organization of the Late Medieval Bible did without question enable preachers and students to easily find the biblical passages they needed for their sermons and commentaries. This new Bible also – and just as importantly – provided its users with access to the biblical readings for the Mass (as well as those for the Divine Office). The new one-volume Bible was a book owned and used by individuals, and this nexus between the individual and the liturgical, seen

<sup>61</sup> See the articles by Peikola, Hoogleviet and Corbellini in this volume.

<sup>62</sup> An interesting, albeit much later, example of daily biblical reading focusing on the passages read each day in church by Lady Grace Mildmay (ca. 1552–1620) is discussed in Peter Stallybrass, “Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible” in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jenny Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 42–79, at p. 73; see also p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> See note 38.

also in portable Breviaries and small Missals, is a new and important development in the history of the medieval church, reflecting a new level of education of the clergy, and possibly hinting at new trends in private, as well as public, devotion.<sup>64</sup>

## APPENDIX

Bibles are grouped by country of origin, and then alphabetically by modern location within these groups.

+ denotes Bibles that include materials for the Mass, but not a Missal;  
\* marks manuscripts not examined personally.

Measurements list outer dimensions followed by dimensions of the written space enclosed in parentheses, where known; IHN = Interpretations of Hebrew Names; bibliography is selective; frequently cited sources are abbreviated, with full citations included at the end of the Appendix.

### I. France

**Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202** (Southern France? s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>) ff. 376, 225 × 154 (143 × 90-88) mm. 2 col. 57 lines. Fols. 193-198, Missal following the Psalms and in the same quire; liturgical directions on celebrating mass at the end of the Old Testament, f. 288rv, "*Quando preparet se sacerdos ad celebrandum missam et secundum consuetudine romae curie ...*, incipit, *Qui dilecta ...*"; numerous cross references, marginal corrections, references to *Moralia* in Job, and marginal symbols. Bibliography: Kidd, "Franciscan Bible", note 16, as MS f.Med.q 20. [Franciscan]

**BL, MS Additional 57531** (Northern France, s. xiii<sup>med</sup>) ff. 544, 163 × 128 (115 × 86) mm. 2 col. 50-51 lines. Fols. 11-55r, Cistercian Missal perhaps ca. 1253-1256 (Peter martyr in the Sanctorale, but after 3 May). Bibliography: Quaritch, *Rough List*, no. 200, London, July 1900, no. 215. [Cistercian]

<sup>64</sup> A later Missal copied for show (and possibly private, lay devotion rather than as a practical liturgical volume) is discussed by Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, "Missel festif selon les usages de Gand et Tournai (Tournai, Musée du grand séminaire, MS 23)" in *Catalogue de manuscrits liturgiques*, IRHT, 2006-2009, *Ædilis*, Publications scientifiques 7 <http://www.cn-telma.fr/liturgie/noticeno/> (consulted 10 December 2011); I owe the author thanks for sharing his insights on this subject (personal communication).



**\*London, (on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral), Law Society, MS 3 (107.f),** Old Testament (France, s. xiii) ff. 468, 123 × 79 (95 × 62) mm. 2 cols. 45 lines. Fols. 287r-289v, Missal following the Psalms.

Bibliography: Ker, *MMBL*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1969), pp. 118–119; Poleg, *Mediations*, p. 205, note 136. [Franciscan]

**\*London and Oslo, Schøyen Collection, MS 115** (Paris? s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>) ff. 457, 140 × 90 (100 × 60) mm. 2 col. 48 lines. Fols. 212v-213v, following Psalms, calendar with Dominic, 5 August, totum duplex, and his translation, 24 May in red; Peter martyr (can. 1253), added to calendar; fols. 214-217v, abbreviated Missal.

Bibliography: London, Sotheby's, 21 June 1988, lot 50; Schøyen Collection: <http://www.schoyencollection.com/bibleLatin.html> [Dominican]

**\*Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 29** (France, s. xiii) ff. 580, 130 × 90 mm. Canon of Mass begins on fol. 258r following Psalms; Proverbs begin f. 259r; f. 579v, list of Epistle and Gospel readings following IHN; list of biblical books, added later on flyleaf. Possibly with line numbers and foliation in Arabic numerals.

Bibliography: Martin de la Torre and Pedro Longás, *Catálogo de Codices latinos, Patronato de la biblioteca nacional* (Madrid, 1935), pp. 130–33; Schnurman, appendix, no. 340.

**BnF, MS lat. 36** (Paris, 1230s) ff. 372, 310 × 195 (202 × 120-2) mm. 2 col. 60 lines, written below the top line. Fols. 357r-372r, Cistercian Missal following the Bible; fols. 330r-355v, IHN with prologue dated 1234; fol. 365v, ex-libris from the Cistercian Abbey of Froidmont, diocese of Beauvais, s. xiv-xv.

Bibliography: Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, p. 213, and fig. 152; Gilbert Dahan, "Lexiques hébreu/latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraïques" in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Textes et études du moyen âge 4 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 480–526, printing the prologue to the IHN on pp. 515–521; de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 115, fig. 80; Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924) 3:283–284, no. 913. [Cistercian]

**BnF, MS lat. 16266** (N. France, s. xiii<sup>2/4-med</sup>) ff. 658, 150 × 100-98 (107-105 × 70) mm. 2 col. 48–9 lines. Fols. 622-624v, different hand, but contemporary with Bible: list of Epistle and Gospel readings (OP or secular use on the continent); fols. 624v-635r, sermon themes (with Francis); fols. 635-638v, Votive Masses and Canon; fols. 646r-655v, calendar, in another hand possibly later (August now missing; Francis possibly original; with other

Franciscan and Dominican feasts added, and a dedication of the church at Chartres, also added); fols. 656r-659v, a second list of Epistle and Gospel readings. At the end of the Bible, before the IHN, a dictionary of difficult words in the Bible, incipit, "Abyssus dicitur profunditas magna ..." [original use unknown; later used at Chartres?]

**Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Codex 236** (Paris? 1220s-30s) ff. 462, 218 × 152 (150 × 92) mm. 2 col. 49–52 lines, written below the top line. Fols. 2r-27r, IHN, followed by the Bible; fols. 400v-401v, Calendar; fols. 402r-420v, Missal; fols. 421r-457, Breviary; fols. 457r-458v, Hymns, not noted; [fol. 459rv, blank]; fols. 460r-462v, added list of Epistle and Gospel readings.

Bibliography: *Leaves of Gold. Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James Tanis and Jennifer Thompson (Philadelphia, 2001), no. 2, pp. 27–29, with illustrations of f. 30v and 401v; complete digital facsimile: <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1551791> [Secular Use]

**\*Private Collection** (Paris, ca. 1260 and ca. 1295) ff. 538 with 18 ff. added at the beginning, 154 × 102 mm. 2 col. 44 lines. Added at the beginning of the volume: list of books of Bible with the number of chapters; calendar; lists of readings for Temporale and Sanctorale; calendar tables; and fols. x recto-xviii verso, extracts of a Missal including Canon of Mass. Added leaves were made for the Dominican Convent of Lyon (calendar with standard Dominican Feasts and "dedicatio ecclesie fratrum predicatorum Lugd"). [Missal and calendar, added later, Dominican]

Bibliography: London, Christie's, Sale 5334, 13 June 2012, lot 7; Sam Fogg, *Medieval Manuscripts, Catalogue 12* (London, 1989) no. 6; and London, Sotheby's, 19 June 1979, lot 42.

## II. England

**Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16** (England? probably before 1254) ff. 639 + 4, 165 × 110 (107-103 × 72-67) mm. 2 col. 49 lines. Dominican calendar with Peter martyr and numerous English saints added; Psalms are abbreviated (Office for Elizabeth of Hungary added following Psalms); following the Bible: IHN, additional prologues, list of sermon themes, Missal (ff. 523-565v), and Verbal concordance.

Bibliography: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts*, pp. 30–32; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 314; Schnurman, appendix, no. 171. [Dominican]

**\*Cambridge, St. John's College, MS N.1 (239)** (England, s. xiii<sup>3/4</sup>) ff. 408, 255 × 180 mm. 2 col. 48 lines. Prologues (Stegmüller 284 and 285) followed by a Gilbertine calendar, fol. 3r; fols. 381r-388r, abbreviated Missal following Bible.

Bibliography: Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 308, dating the manuscript s. xiii<sup>3/4</sup>; Poleg, *Mediations*, p. 205, note 136; *The Gilbertine Rite*, ed. Reginald Maxwell Woolley (London, 1921-1922), I:xi, and I:xvi-xxiii (I:xxxvi-liv, calendar); volume 2, collated as "J"; library website, with description and link to one image, at [http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special\\_collections/manuscripts/medieval\\_manuscripts/medman/N\\_1.htm](http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/manuscripts/medieval_manuscripts/medman/N_1.htm). [Gilbertine]

**Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3** (England, s. xiii<sup>3/4</sup>) ff. 364, 198 × 150 (147-141 × 98-96) mm. 2 col. 53-50 lines. Bible, fols. 1r-352r; followed by Missal, beginning fol. 352v, and Calendar, fols. 387v-388v, with Franciscan and English saints (includes Wilfrid, which suggests use in York, and Richard of Chichester, here on 2 April, usually 3 April, therefore after 1262).

Bibliography: Paul Binski and Patrick Zutshi, with Stella Panayotova, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, 2011), cat. 123, pp. 115-16; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 325; Poleg, *Mediations*, p. 205, note 136. [Franciscan]

**BL, MS Harley 1748** (England s. xiii<sup>2/4-med</sup>) ff. 346, 229 × 164 (158-155 × 106-105) mm. 2 col. 57-56 lines. Fols. 170v-172v, Missal between 2 Maccabees and Proverbs; fol. 2r, list of the books of the Bible; fols. 1r-2r and 243v, added capitula lists; added paper quire, fols. 5r-12r, with *Summarium biblie*, incipit, "Sex prohibet" (s. xv?); Gospel harmony; chapters in Genesis divided into six sections by Arabic numerals in margin; a-g references added in other books, added notes on the order of the biblical books.

Bibliography: de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 121-22 (suggesting a date of ca. 1230), and plate 85.

**BL, MS Harley 2813** (England, Oxford? s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>) ff. 506, 183 × 133 (114 × 74) mm. 2 col. 51 lines, written below the top line. Illuminated by William de Brailes or his workshop. Fols. 227r-236v, Missal between Psalms and Proverbs; indexing symbols in margin (possibly Grosseesteste's); fol. 226v, list of biblical books.

Bibliography: Peter Kidd, "Franciscan Bible"; Schnurman, appendix, no. 239. [Franciscan]

**Bodl., MS Lat. Bib.e.7** (England, Oxford, s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup> ca. 1234-1240) ff. 441, 168 × 108 (119-117 × 74-72) mm. 2 col. 48 lines, written below the top line;

illuminated by William de Brailles. Fols. 199r-204r, Canon of Mass, Prefaces and prayers following the Psalms; annotated for reading "in refectorio".

Bibliography: J. J. G. Alexander, "English or French? Thirteenth-Century Bibles" in *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt*, ed. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (London, 1982), p. 71; Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours. Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991), pp. 19-21, and figure 4, fols. 4v-5r, p. 203, no. 16; Morgan, *Early Gothic*, no. 69, pp. 114-116, ills. 226-227; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 313; Poleg, *Mediations*, p. 205, note 136. [Dominican]

**BnF, MS lat. 163** (England, s. xiii<sup>med</sup>) ff. 285, 185 × 120 (135-130 × 83) mm. 2 col. 63-62 lines, written above the top line. Fol. 285v, noted Prefaces and Canon; also includes, fols. 264v and 268r advice on celebrating the Mass and prayers; fols. 265r-266r, Dominican calendar, adapted to Franciscan Usage (Peter martyr, 29 April, can. 1253 and added to Dominican calendar in 1254, added, suggesting a date of before 1254 or a little after); fol. 267v, added verse on order of biblical books, notes and prayers for the Mass.

Bibliography: Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés insulaire*, p. 82, no. 128, pl. XLIII, XLIV; Gilbert Dahan, "Les textes bibliques dans le lectionnaire du prototype de la liturgie dominicaine" in *Aux origines*, ed. Boyle and Gy, pp. 159-82, at pp. 169-77, and appendix, pp. 178-82, critical edition of Jeremiah ch. 1; Gleeson, "Pre-Humbertian", pp. 99-114, at p. 100, no. 6; Schnurman, appendix n. 101. [Dominican]

**BnF, MS lat. 215** (England, s. xiii<sup>2/4-med</sup>) ff. 584, 135 × 87 (93-91 × 62) mm. 2 col. 42-43 lines, below top line. Fols. 259v-262v, Prefaces, Canon of the Mass, and Votive Masses between Psalms and Proverbs; fol. 263rv, blank; fols. 263r-264r, Dominican calendar, fols. 264v-268r, list of Gospel and Epistle readings for the Mass; fol. 268v, prayer said after Mass.

Bibliography: Gleeson, "Pre-Humbertian", p. 100, no. 3. [Dominican]

**BnF, MS lat. 10431** (England, s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>, after 1235/6, probably before 1246) ff. 357, 242 × 174 (168-163 × 106-103) mm. 2 col. 58 lines, written above the top line. Fols. 347r-350v, Cistercian Missal, original, follows the IHN. Also includes, fols. 1v-2v, calendar; fols. 4r-10v, Peter of Poitiers, *Genealogy of Christ*; fols. 11r-12r, Gospel Harmony (incipit, "A generat"); fols. 12v-13v, list Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass, which also note parallel passages in other Gospels; this whole apparatus appears to be contemporary with Bible.

Bibliography: Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés insulaire*, no. 117, pp. 73–75, plate I, and xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix; Morgan, *Early Gothic*, pp. 21, 112–13, 126, fig. 16. [Cistercian]

+**San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 51** (England, s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>) ff. 378, 242 × 173 (160–158 × 110) mm. 2 columns, 53 lines, written above the top line. Lists of introits and readings for Temporale and Sanctorale, “secundum usum morinensis diocesis” (Théouranne, France), added, s. xiv, at the beginning of the volume.

Bibliography: C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, California, 1989), pp. 110–16. [Added texts, diocese of Théouranne]

**San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 26061** (England, s. xiii<sup>2/4</sup>) ff. 381, 220 × 154 (156 × 103) mm. 2 col. 58 lines, copied below top line. Fols. 177r–191v, Missal between Psalms and Proverbs; fols. 1r–9v, verse summary, incipit, “Sex prohibet” (fragment, added, s. XIV); fols. 10r–21v, list of Epistle and Gospel readings, added, s. XIV, “ad usum sarum”; references to *Moralia in Job*; marginal indexing symbols (Grosseteste?).

Bibliography: Dutschke, *Guide*, pp. 649–654; Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic*, pp. 125–126, no. 77, ills 250–1, who suggests ca. 1240. [Regular Canons?]

### III. Italy

\***BAV, MS Ottob. lat. 532** (Italy, Viterbo, 1250) ff. 518, 153 × 108 (103 × 70) mm. 2 col. 48–50 lines. Fols. 1r–6v, Masses of the Cross, the Virgin and the Dead, Viterbo calendar, Prefaces and Canon.

Bibliography: *Exempla scripturarum* (Rome, 1929), volume one, plate 11; *Codici latini datati della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana* (Città del Vaticano, 1997–2007), vol. 1, *Nei fondi Archivio S. Pietro, Barberini, Boncompagni, Borghese, Borgia, Capponi, Chigi, Ferrajoli, Ottoboni*, ed. José Ruyschaert, Adriana Marucchi and Albinia C. de la Mare, no. 297, p. 131, and plate II, dated 1250; Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la bibliothèque vaticane. II. Sacramentaires, Épistoliers Évangéliques graduels mis-sels*, Studi e testi 253 (Vatican City, 1969), p. 124, no. 301, but listed as Ottob. lat. 523, and dated 1236; Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques .... IV. Les livres de lectures de l'office*, Studi e testi 267 (Vatican City, 1971), p. 88, no. 265, dated 1236.

+ **BnF, MS lat. 216 (1–2)** (Venice, s. xiii<sup>3/4</sup>) 2 volumes, ff. 240 + 279, 150 × 100 (98 × 65) mm. 2 col. 51 lines, written below the top line. Volume 2, fol. 263rv, fragment of the Canon of Mass (added); fols. 264r–265r, and fols. 278v–279,

list of Epistles, Gospels and Offertorium for the liturgical year; fols. 266-278, notes on Gospel readings for the liturgical year; marginal letters, a-h, added in a later hand to divide the chapters.

Bibliography: F. Avril, and M.-T. Gousset, with C. Rabel, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine italienne. 2. XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1984), no. 6, p. 7, plates A, and II.

#### IV. Spain

**Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 31** (Spain? s. xiii<sup>2/4-med</sup>) ff. 362, 182 × 117 (122-120 × 77-9) mm. 2 col. 54-55 lines, written below the top line. Fols. 1r-4r, Prefaces, Canon and Votive Masses, including Mass for Dominic; fols. 338-339v, Collects, Secrets and Postcommunion prayers for common of saints; fols. 336r-337v, corpus of additional prologues (text hand); fols. 340r-361v, Gospel Harmony, incipit, "A Generat" (contemporary with the Bible); marginal symbols.

Bibliography: Gleeson, O.P., "Pre-Humbertian", p. 100, no. 15; Calames: <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/ms/MAZA10033> (consulted 10 October 2011); Liber Floridus (eight images): [http://liberfloridus.cines.fr/cgi-bin/affich\\_planche?Paris\\_Bibl\\_Mazarine/ms.%200031/1/0](http://liberfloridus.cines.fr/cgi-bin/affich_planche?Paris_Bibl_Mazarine/ms.%200031/1/0) (consulted 10 October 2011). [Dominican]

#### V. Not Examined Personally; Unknown Origin

\***KBR, MS 14 (8882)** (s. xiii) ff. 486, 130 × 95 mm. Fols. 202r-7v, Ordo of Mass and a list of Epistle and Gospel readings in the middle of the Bible.

Bibliography: Schnurman, appendix, no. 5.

\***Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense. MS III (AD.X.44)** (s. xiii) ff. 503, 175 × 120 mm. Mass texts at end; tables of feast days.

Bibliography: Schnurman, appendix, no. 312.

+\***Poitiers, BM, MS 12** (s. xiii) ff. 546, 206 × 135 mm. Fols. 1 and 507r-523r, list of Epistle and Gospel readings; fols. 535r-536r, Collects, secrets and post-communion prayers.

Bibliography: Gleeson, "Pre-Humbertian", p. 101, no. 13. [Dominican]

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# THE INTERPRETATIONS OF HEBREW NAMES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE<sup>1</sup>

Eyal Poleg

## INTRODUCTION

The Late Medieval Bible ushered in many changes to the appearance and use of biblical manuscripts. A transformation in layout, diffusion, reading patterns and textual divisions was accompanied by the creation of the first mass-produced single-volume Bible, or pandect. While pandects had existed since the early Middle Ages, they were large and cumbersome books, few and far between. From ca. 1230 single-volume Bibles became the norm. This had an impact on the way Bibles were read and consulted. For the first time one could take a full Bible on the road without the need of a carriage or a stout mule, and pandects proliferated outside large monastic libraries which had once been their prime abode. Beyond portability, price and storage, single-volume Bibles ushered in another change. Biblical manuscripts became self-sufficient books, texts that could contain their own interpretation. No longer consulted solely in wealthy libraries (or read nearby), Bibles often incorporated a wide variety of aids and addenda, such as calendars and tables of lections, biblical summaries and devotional treatises, to facilitate prayer, preaching and study.<sup>2</sup> Bound in with the biblical text, these addenda provided very specific ways of understanding it. Guiding readers through the long, complex and sometimes foreign text of the Bible, none was as popular as the Interpretations of Hebrew Names (*Interpretationes nominum Hebraeorum*, hereafter IHN), a biblical glossary that was affixed to the majority of Late Medieval Bibles, and is extant in hundreds of manuscripts. This paper will explore the evolution and nature of this important aid to identify a link between the glossary and a new form of preaching that came into the limelight at the end

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<sup>1</sup> This essay builds upon the initial exploration of the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* in my PhD dissertation, revised and published as *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2013). Research and publication were supported by a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship. I wish to thank Laura Light and Giovanna Murano for their assistance.

<sup>2</sup> Liturgical and mnemonic addenda are discussed in Laura Light's and Lucie Doležalová's essays in this volume.

of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, a close contemporary to the Late Medieval Bible.

That biblical names carry meaning is far from a medieval innovation. Their significance can be traced to the Bible itself. There, definitions are important means of narrative development or of allegorical explication. For example, Jacob's manner of birth led to his naming as pertaining to "following" or "heel" (‘.q.v, Gn 25:26) and the town of Bethel accords with Jacob's dream and divine revelation (byt̄-l, Gn 28:10–19). When Ezekiel wished to reproach the inhabitant of Jerusalem, he contrasted their bellicose nature with the definition of the city's name as a city of peace (š.l.m, Ez 13.16). The centrality of name-exegesis is most evident in the way significant events were marked by re-naming places and personae: Abram became Abraham to commemorate his covenant with the Lord (Gn 17.5) and Jacob was named Israel following his encounter with the man-God (Gn 32.29). With the rise of allegorical exegesis, and especially as Christian communities engaged in linking seemingly unrelated Old and New Testament passages, biblical names grew in importance.

When Jerome translated the Bible into Latin, he was not oblivious to the importance of names. The Vulgate transliterated many of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek proper names of the Bible. To assist in their understanding, Jerome drew on the works of Philo (†50) and on Eusebius of Caesarea's (†ca. 330) *Onomasticon* to compile a glossary of biblical names – the *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*.<sup>3</sup> He expanded this glossary beyond the *Onomasticon*'s toponyms to include personal names, which became the majority of its entries. The glossary was meant to function in tandem with other works, and includes references to works by Jerome, primarily his *Hebrew Questions*.<sup>4</sup> It follows the Bible from Genesis to Revelations, at times repeating names in different locations according to their reappearance in different places within the biblical narrative (e.g. *Aser* in both Genesis and Exodus). Internal references are made within the glossary and letters are sometimes explicitly omitted altogether to avoid repetition (e.g. I and L do not appear in Deuteronomy).

<sup>3</sup> Paul de Lagarde, ed., in: *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I, Opera Exegetica*. 1, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), pp. 57–161.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the entry for Galaad in Genesis adds: "de hoc in libris hebraicarum quaestionum plenius diximus" ("about which we have said much in the books of Hebrew Questions [50:20]"). Similar entries are: *Israhel* (Exodus), *Elon* (Numbers), *Efratha* (Judges), *Escaboth* (1 Kings), *Subochai* (2 Kings), *Chabratha* (4 Kings), *Forthommim* (Daniel), *Thelabim* (Ezekiel) and *Ausitidi* (Job).

Each entry in Jerome's glossary provides a laconic definition, often in accordance with the biblical interpretation itself (see table 1). Their length varies from a single word to a short paragraph (the latter only most infrequently), determined not by the importance of the biblical character but rather by Hebrew etymology. Jerome's interest in linguistics and his preoccupation with the challenges of translation are evident throughout the work. The glossary digresses to discuss the problem of writing Hebrew in Latin (giving a reason for providing two alternatives for a single word, e.g. *Ofir* as *Afir* in Genesis), the similarity between Hebrew and Greek phonetics (introducing the letter *Ch*), and distinctions between Hebrew and Aramaic (e.g. *Dison* in Genesis). This led Jerome to integrate short indications of language and origin (e.g. *Zachaeus* in Matthew [recte Lk 19.2] in Aramaic rather than Hebrew "... Syrum est, non Hebraeum"). Jerome's digressions into Hebrew grammar and phonetics highlighted the distance between the Vulgate and the Hebrew Bible. The once familiar Hebrew words, whose etymologies had been evident for readers and listeners, were now lost in the gap between transliterated Hebrew and Latin definition. The biblical impetus of connecting well-known place and personal names to mythical narratives was now presented to an audience who knew neither place nor language. Some definitions made use of this gap, their brevity not masking the tenets of Christian thought underpinning Jerome's analysis. Eve was thus defined as disaster, woe or life ("Eva calamitas, aut vae vel vita"), succinctly encompassing the Christian reading of the Garden of Eden and departing from the original etymology as Mother of all Living (Gn 2.20).

#### THE RISE OF THE INTERPRETATIONS OF HEBREW NAMES

Jerome's work was popular throughout the Middle Ages. It circulated independently, or formed part of monastic miscellanies; truncated and modified, it was added to early medieval Gospel Books to provide name exegesis for their specific books.<sup>5</sup> In the twelfth century, the rise of urban schools

<sup>5</sup> BSB, Clm. 6228 (ca. 900, consulted online at <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00064012/images/index.html?id=00064012&fp=eayaxdsydztsxdsydeayawwxdsydw&no=3&seite=5> [consulted 28 June, 2012]), one of the earliest witnesses used by Lagarde, is a manuscript comprising solely of the *Liber interpretationis*. In both BL, MS Harley 3058 and BL, MS Additional 10049 (twelfth-century manuscripts) the *Liber interpretationis* is bound with the works of Jerome or other Church Fathers. For Hebrew names in Gospel Books see: Olivier Szerwiniack, "Les Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum

and their engagement with biblical exegesis led to a renewed interest in biblical etymology and to the proliferation of biblical glossaries. Some glossaries were based on other works, such as a revision of Isidore's *Etymologies* (incipit "Adam figuram Christi gestavit"), with its explicit allegorical understanding of Scripture.<sup>6</sup> Most works, however, were the result of the enhancement, restructuring and expansion of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*. Several lengthy adaptations were created, which are commonly grouped into three major renditions identified by their first entry: *Adam* (Stegmüller §8949 and variants), *Aaron* (§10278 or §10258) and *Aaz* (§7709 and variants), the latter being the most popular. They survive nowadays in hundreds of manuscripts, primarily bound with Late Medieval Bibles, and became its most popular addenda.<sup>7</sup>

Despite its medieval popularity, the IHN has received little scholarly attention, and none of the glossaries is available in a modern scholarly

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progenitorum Iesu Christi (ALC 62): une oeuvre authentique d'Alcuin", *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 111:3 (2004), 289–99; idem, "Les recueils d'interprétations de noms hébreux: les irlandais et le wisigoth Théodulf", *Scriptorium* 48:2 (1994), 187–258; Patrick McGurk, "An Edition of the Abbreviated and Selective Set of Hebrew Names Found in the Book of Kells" in *The Book of Kells. Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College, Dublin, 6–9 September, 1992*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 102–32 (reprinted as idem, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 606 [Aldershot, 1998], §IX); idem, "Des recueils d'interprétations de noms hébreux", *Scriptorium* 50:1 (1996), 117–22 (reprinted as idem, *Gospel Books*, §X). A rare example in which the work was affixed to a full Bible is BL, Royal MS 1 E.i (an early thirteenth-century English manuscript).

<sup>6</sup> Stegmüller §5173, as in BL, Royal MS 2 F.iv, a thirteenth-century Gospel Book of Rochester Cathedral Priory.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanna Murano ("Chi ha scritto le *Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum*?" in Étienne Langton, *prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*, ed. Louis-Jacques Bataillon et al., Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 9 [Turnhout, 2010], pp. 353–71), estimates there are 900 copies of the *Aaz* rendering alone (p. 355, with additional bibliography supplied in n. 12). The essay also supplies the most updated typology of the three renderings, their manuscript witnesses and references to Stegmüller's *Repertorium*. The analyses of the catalogue of the BnF by Amaury d'Esneval ("Le perfectionnement d'un instrument de travail au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Les trois glossaires bibliques d'Etienne Langton" in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr and Jean Longère [Paris, 1981], pp. 163–75, at p. 164 n. 12), Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse ("Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson et al. [Oxford, 1982], pp. 201–25 at p. 221 [= eidem, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Publications in Medieval Studies 17 (Notre Dame, IN, 1991), pp. 191–219]) and Gilbert Dahan ("Lexiques hébreu-latin? Les recueils d'interprétations des noms hébraïques" in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires, de l'Antiquité à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Textes et études du moyen âge 4 [Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996], pp. 481–526, at p. 487) confirm the proliferation of the glossary among Late Medieval Bibles, as does my own survey (*Approaching the Bible*, Appendix 1).

edition. Nevertheless, three important articles have charted its evolution and nature.<sup>8</sup> Amaury d'Esneval, the first to consider the IHN in depth, attributed its compilation – a revision of Jerome's glossary – to Stephen Langton (†1228). He saw a gradual evolution from the *Adam* through *Aaron* to *Aaz* as evidence of Hebrew knowledge, and its appeal as intrinsically linked to twelfth- and thirteenth-century exegesis. Gilbert Dahan reaffirmed the centrality of exegesis to the compilation and use of the glossary, but questioned its date, methodology and authorship. Adding other glossaries (*Assur* [Stegmüller §11361] and *Aba* [§9942]) he advocated a longer evolution, beginning in the first half of the eleventh century. The scope of the entries demonstrates how the author of the *Adam* closely followed Jerome, while entries in the *Aaron* and *Aaz* glossaries were added based on Latin synonyms and similar Hebrew words. Importantly, Dahan demonstrated that the new entries were not based on independent knowledge of Hebrew. Recently, the authorship of the different glossaries was further explored by Giovanna Murano. Carefully tracing the sub-categories of each rendering, Murano was able to substantiate Dahan's claim for diverse authorship and earlier date – tracing the earliest witness of the *Aaron* version to 1139. A multiplicity of authors is suggested by the diffusion of the manuscripts, and a comparison between exegetical works and the glossary disproves its medieval attribution to Remigius of Auxerre (†908). Murano also examined the common attribution to Langton through the appearance of slightly modified entries of the *Aaz* glossary in his exegetical works. This leads to the possibility of linking Langton to a specific rendering of the *Aaz* glossary (a modification of Stegmüller §8900), preserved in a manuscript at Montpellier, the only one to contain a near contemporary attribution to Langton.

The evolution of the glossary is evident in changes to the content of the entries, as well as to their organization. In tandem with the rise in alphabetical aids and a shift towards the systemisation of knowledge, Jerome's sequence was modified.<sup>9</sup> Jerome's original work follows individual books of the Bible, each sub-divided alphabetically and then chronologically (i.e. Genesis: *Aethiopiae* [2.13] to *Atad* [50.10], *Babylon* [11.9] to *Bechor* [46.21] ... Exodus: *Aser* [1.4]-*Achisamech* [31.6] ... etc.). This was altered in some

<sup>8</sup> d'Esneval, "Le perfectionnement"; Dahan, "Lexiques hébreu-latin"; followed by idem, *l'Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval: XIIe-XIVe Siècle* (Paris, 1999), pp. 314–25; Murano, "Chi ha scritto?". The IHN is also mentioned in de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 112–13, and 116–17. I thank Giovanna Murano for supplying me with an early copy of her article.

<sup>9</sup> Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire", pp. 210–12; d'Esneval, "Le perfectionnement", p. 166.

renderings of the *Adam* version to form an alphabetical sequence sub-divided by biblical books (A Genesis-Revelation, B Genesis-Revelation, etc.). The two last versions (*Aaron* and *Aaz*) follow a purely alphabetical sequence, without any historical sub-division (A [Aa, Ab, Ac ... Az], B, etc.). The change in sequence should not be taken for granted. As demonstrated by Mary Carruthers, the sequence of Jerome's original work was in tune with mnemonic techniques, and the combination of narrative and alphabetical sequences was of particular use for readers.<sup>10</sup> The move towards a purely alphabetical sequence should, however, be seen against the background of the rise of the Late Medieval Bible. As biblical glossaries, and primarily the *Aaz* rendering, were affixed to pandects, the *Liber interpretationis* and earlier versions became obsolete. A purely alphabetical sequence befitted a single-volume Bible perfectly, and the link between Bible and glossary may explain the reception of the IHN in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the *Aaz* version was the most popular, the *Aaron* version appeared infrequently (possibly due to the nature of its entries, explored below), and the earlier version of *Adam* was a rarity.<sup>11</sup>

The range and nature of the glossaries likewise evolved over time. There is a clear rise in the scope and breadth of the IHN: Jerome's *Liber interpretationis* has 3,157 entries, the *Adam* rendering ca. 1,050 entries, the *Aaron* ca. 1,425 and the *Aaz* ca. 5,250.<sup>12</sup> It came to encompass biblical figures of little significance, as well as variants of Hebrew words. Growth, however, does not necessarily indicate accurate scholarship. The link between many of these entries and the biblical text cannot be taken for granted. Strikingly (and little noticed by scholars of the IHN),<sup>13</sup> a large number of the glossary's entries, especially in the *Aaz* rendering, do not appear in the biblical text. Although much work is needed to ascertain the exact relation and percentage, a study of sample entries in the *Aaz* rendering from a typical manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 484, with similar readings in BL, MS Additional 39629; BL, MS Stowe 1; and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Reid 21) suggests surprising figures. Of the first

<sup>10</sup> Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 144–46. I thank Laura Light for directing me in this direction.

<sup>11</sup> This is evident from Dahan's analysis ("Lexiques hébreu-latin", p. 487), as from my own survey (Poleg, *Approaching the Bible*, appendix 1).

<sup>12</sup> The number of entries is conjectural as within each rendering there is much variation, a complex manuscript tradition, the expansion of single entries into multiple items and vice-versa.

<sup>13</sup> The only note on the link between the glossary's entries and the Vulgate was made in passing by d'Esneval ("Le perfectionnement", p. 163 n. 5) when discussing the word *Nechota* (see below n. 20).

fifty words of the glossary, about twenty-three words (ca. 46%) do not appear in the biblical text they accompany, and many do not transliterate any Hebrew name at all.<sup>14</sup> Even the word *Aaz* itself, the first entry of the glossary, is written as *Ahaz* in the Vulgate (and has its own entry in the glossary under *Ahaz*); the definition of *Aaz* is based on Jerome's *Liber interpretationis* (for the Fourth Book of Kings and for Matthew), in which it refers to a king of Judah by the name of *Achaz* (who likewise has its own entry in the *Aaz* glossary "querentes vel apprehendens sive conversus visioni aut apprehendens fortitudinem"). This corroborates Dahan's assertion that a lack of independent Hebrew knowledge underpinned the compilation of later glossaries. It is especially true for the creation of the *Aaz* glossary, as the entries that were added to enlarge the *Aaron* glossary are typically the ones lacking in the biblical text. This puts the nature and use of the glossary in question.

An uneasy link between biblical glossary and biblical text is evident in the nature of the entries themselves, which differs considerably between the various renderings, as can be seen from a comparison of several entries across sample glossaries (table 1).<sup>15</sup>

Table 1. Sample Entries from Biblical Glossaries.

Jerome's <i>Liber Interpretationis</i>	Adam	Aaron	Aaz
(Lagarde ed., pp. 60–61)	(Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 97, fol. 7ra–8ra)	(BL, Royal MS 1 B.viii, fols. 340vb–342ra)	(Cambridge, CCC, MS 484, fols. 631r–635v)
Abel: luctus sive vanitas aut vapor vel miserabilis	Abel: secundus filius Adam; luctus vel vanitas vel vapor vel pavor vel miserabilis vel Iustus. vel committens.	Abel: committens vel commissio aut luctus vel pavor. Gen. 4. Mt. 23.	Abel: committens vel commissio Abel: luctus vel vapor seu vanitas aut miserabilis

(Continued)

<sup>14</sup> These are: *Aaz*, *Aad*, *Aadhar*, *Aalma*, *Aara*, *Aars*, *Aazia*, *Abaga*, *Abaia*, *Aabnu*, *Abani*, *Abania*, *Abaria*, *Abasbay*, *Abday*, *Abdi*, *Abdo*, *Abdom*, *Abedia*, *Abelga*, *Abenezzer*, *Abenner*, *Aber*. Some of the words appear in modified spelling, rendering their identification most difficult for a medieval reader with little knowledge of Hebrew. This examination was based on a comparison between the entries and the biblical text they accompany in Cambridge, CCC, MS 484, but more work is needed before exact percentage can be ascertained.

Table 1. (*Cont.*)

Jerome's <i>Liber Interpretationis</i>	Adam	Aaron	Aaz
	Abel: civitatem vineis consitam legimus in libro Iudicum.		
	Abel: magnum. Super quem ut ibi legitur posuerunt archam domini in primo libro regum.	Abela: committens ei vel commissio eius sive lugens eum aut miserabilis ei. IV Reg. 20.	Abela: committens ei vel commissio eius sive lugens eum aut miserabilis ei.
	Abel: etiam civitatem in quarto libro regum; & omnium interpretatio est luctus vel committens.		
Ada: testimonium	Ada: prima uxor Lamech. Illius qui fuit de genere Chayn; testimonium vel ablata Ada: secundo uxor Esau; filia Helon Hethei; mater Eliphaz; decor vel ornata.	Ada: testificans vel testimonium. Gen. 4, 34 [rect. 36].	Ada: testificans vel testimonium
Arfaxath: sanans depopulationem	Arfaxad: tertius filius Sem, filii Noe. A quo Arfaxad Chaldeorum gens est exorta. Arfaxad: quoque rex Medorum in libro Judith; sanans depopulationem	Arphaxad: sanans vel sonans depopula- tionem. Gen. 10, Jud. 1.	Arphaxat: sanans vel sonans depopulationem [other MSS: sanans vel salvans]



The obvious exception among these entries is the *Adam* glossary. A direct line could be drawn from Jerome through the *Aaron* to the *Aaz* glossary, all supplying succinct etymologies, often removed from the

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Jerome's <i>Liber Interpretationis</i>	Adam	Aaron	Aaz
(Lagarde ed., pp. 60–61)	(Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 97, fols. 7ra-8ra)	(BL, Royal MS 1 B.viii, fols. 340vb-342ra)	(Cambridge, CCC, MS 484, fols. 631r-635v)
Abel: grief or vanity or vapour or miserable	Abel: Adam's second son; grief or vanity or vapour or panic or miserable or just or one who engages/begins. Abel: we read in the Book of Judges of a city of planted vines. Abel: Great. On which, as it is written in the first book of Kings, they placed the Ark of the Lord. Abel: a city in 4 Kings; and the interpretation of all [words] is grief or one who engages/begins.	Abel: one who engages or a beginning, grief or panic (Gen. 4, Mt. 23)  Abela: engages with him or his beginning if not mourning him or miserable by him (2 Reg. 20)	Abel: one who engages or beginning Abel: grief or vapour, vanity or miserable  Abela: engages with him or his beginning if not mourning him or miserable by him
Ada: testimony	Ada: First wife of Lamech, who was of the sons of Cain; testimony or fetched. Ada: Esau's second wife; daughter of Helon Hethei; mother of Eliphaz; beauty or ornate.	Ada: testifies or testimony (Gen. 4, 34 [rect. 36])	Ada: testifies or testimony
Arfaxath: healer of the ravaging	Arfaxad: the third son of Sem, Noa's son. Of whom came the race of Chaldees. Arfaxad: likewise king of Medes in Judith; healer of the ravaging	Arphaxath: healer or speaker of the ravaging (Gen. 10, Jud. 1)	Arphaxat: healer or speaker of the ravaging

biblical narrative. The *Adam* version, on the other hand, is the closest to the modern reckoning of a biblical aid. In it the biblical etymology is preceded by contextualization of the person or the place within the biblical narrative: people are presented according to their lineage and locations are linked with the biblical narrative, both assisting the reader in following the biblical story. Another kind of link between text and glossary is evident in the *Aaron* version (or at least its common sub-category, *Aaron-Zorobabel* [Stegmüller §8949]).<sup>16</sup> Making use of the newly introduced chapter divisions, it offered readers a useful and efficient means of locating a relevant entry in the biblical manuscript, and linked the entry with the biblical text in an abbreviated way.<sup>17</sup>

Despite its link to the biblical text being the weakest, the *Aaz* glossary became the most popular of the IHN, and is affixed to the majority of Late Medieval Bibles.<sup>18</sup> The reason for its success is far from evident. It contains little information regarding the biblical narrative, and discourages readers from linking glossary entries with the biblical text. While it appears to be the closest to Jerome's *Liber interpretationis*, its entries omit parts of Jerome's etymological and historical insights (as, for example, *Bethphage* was altered from a village at the mouth of a valley ["*bucce vallium*"] to simply a mouth [*bucce*]); its new alphabetical sequence further removed it from the biblical narrative and inhibited readers from linking entry and text.<sup>19</sup> A far cry from a gazetteer or a biblical genealogy, it is the manifestation of the widest gap between Bible and etymology. This very same gap is probably the reason for its popularity. In a prologue to the IHN (the *Adam* version) in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 97, fol. 2ra, the value of the glossary is evoked:

Interpretationes igitur nominum scire tam necessaria res est quam clavis domui reserand<a>. Absque tali clave in domum nechotha non introitur, id est domum aromathum; quia scientiam interpretationum non habenti, non est penetrabilis intellegentia vera scripturarum. Sicut enim clavem domus non habenti nec serata domus aperitur, nec penetralia domus ei patent; sic

<sup>16</sup> Murano's classification of BL, MS Royal 1 B.viii to the third sub-group (Stegmüller §9652) raises the possibility that chapter numbers were common beyond the fourth sub-group (Stegmüller §8949), an hypothesis strengthened by the addition of chapter references by later scribes (as in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 463, a late thirteenth-century Bible in which a roughly contemporary hand added chapter references in the margins).

<sup>17</sup> On the integration of the chapter division see Paul Saenger's essay in this volume.

<sup>18</sup> See above, n. 11.

<sup>19</sup> For some entries, such a link could still be made using biblical concordances.

ignoranti nominum interpretationes in hystoria sacra nec allegoricus nec moralis nec anagogycus sensus ad liquidum elucent.<sup>20</sup>

The IHN is likened to a key, a vital tool for deciphering the mysteries of the biblical text. Drawing explicitly on 4 Kings 20.13 and implicitly on exegesis of the Song of Songs with its image of the Bible as a closed garden, the IHN is seen as an unsurpassable way to gain true knowledge of Scripture, a prerequisite for any further exegesis. As argued by d'Esneval, and on a par with the link between the biblical text and the *Aaz* glossary, high regard for the Hebrew is evident from the use of the name *Nechota*, a word that appears in the IHN but not in the Vulgate, where it instead appears in the translation, "the house of spices".<sup>21</sup>

What is true for the IHN in general is especially pertinent for the *Aaz* glossary. It does not assist in understanding the Bible as a narrative or history, but provides a basis for the integration of doctrine. Its definitions enabled readers to connect specific narratives to the tenets of Christian faith in ways that opened numerous possibilities, rather than dictating a single alternative. It does not provide a fixed allegorical interpretation, which would have limited a user's creativity. Rather it destabilises the biblical narrative. It creates a tension between the original text and the interpretation of the word, a tension that could then be utilised by readers, exegetes or preachers for their own needs. In other words, the IHN does not supply explicit literal, allegorical, tropological or anagogical exegesis, but rather a basis that could accommodate all four. As shown by d'Esneval and Dahan, the etymologies were frequently employed by medieval exegetes.<sup>22</sup> The applicability of the IHN extended beyond the confines of schools and universities, to be used time and again by preachers, frequent readers of Late Medieval Bibles.

<sup>20</sup> "To know the interpretations of names is as necessary as a key to open a house. Without such key one does not enter into the house of *Nechota*, that is the house of spices; because to him who does not have the knowledge of the interpretations, the true knowledge of Scriptures is not penetrable. As if to one that does not have the keys of the house the bolts of the house shall not be opened, nor will the innermost parts of the house be accessible; so to the one who is ignorant of the interpretations of names neither the allegorical nor the tropological nor the anagogical senses in sacred history shine forth clearly". The first sentence was transcribed in d'Esneval, "Instrument de travail", p. 163 n. 5.

<sup>21</sup> d'Esneval, "Le perfectionnement", p. 163 n. 5. The *Aaz* entry is: "Aroma vel thimiama sive storax eius aut aromatizatio eius" ("Spice or incense if not its gum or its sweet smell").

<sup>22</sup> d'Esneval, "Le perfectionnement", p. 164; Dahan "Lexiques hébreu-latin", especially pp. 506–08; idem, *l'Exégèse chrétienne*, pp. 319–25.

## THE INTERPRETATIONS OF HEBREW NAMES IN PRACTICE

At the very same time that novel biblical manuscripts spread throughout Western Europe, a new form of preaching began to be practised, primarily in universities and by members of the mendicant orders. This “New Form”, or the “University Sermon”, was characterized (at least in theory) by a highly rigid and elaborate structure. The earlier homiletic mode followed the biblical lesson (or pericope) and expanded upon it by interspersing it with commentaries, biblical allusions and external narratives; in the New Form of preaching, on the other hand, only a fragment of the pericope, a sentence or even a single word, was employed as the sermon’s core. Known as the sermon’s *thema*, it was then expanded in an elaborate structure of major and minor divisions. Advice on how to construct sermons from such a minute biblical component was offered in designated *Artes predicandi* treatises, which circulated from ca. 1200.<sup>23</sup> Among the means of amplification described in these treatises and practised by medieval preachers were division and argument, the use of biblical exegesis, saints’ lives and works of the church fathers. Etymology likewise became an important means of amplification, and the definitions of biblical words appear time and again in medieval sermons.

The link between the IHN and the New Form of preaching was evoked by d’Esneval and Dahan, and led Nicole Bériou to argue that “L’interprétation des noms propres de la Bible, déjà très prisée au début du siècle, continue à être recommandée. Elle est alors facilitée par la constitution de listes *d’Interpretationes*, attachées aux Bibles portatives”.<sup>24</sup> Specific occurrences in sermons will exemplify how the detachment from

<sup>23</sup> For an introduction to medieval preaching see: John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Introduction: Medieval Preaching” in *De Ore Domini: Preacher and the Word in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green and Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp. 1–11; Eyal Poley, “A ladder set up on the earth’: The Bible in Medieval Sermons” in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly (New York, 2011), pp. 205–27; *The Sermon*, dir. Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, Fasc. 81–3 (Turnhout, 2000). On *Artes praedicandi* treatises see: Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes praedicandi* (Turnhout, 1992); Th. M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l’histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Paris and Ottawa, 1936); James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 269–355.

<sup>24</sup> d’Esneval, “Le perfectionnement”, p. 164; Dahan, “Lexiques hébreu-latin”, pp. 508–10; idem, *L’Exégèse chrétienne*, pp. 317–18; Nicole Bériou, *L’avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1998), p. 150.

the biblical narrative, characteristic of *Aaz* rendering, was put into practice.<sup>25</sup>

Medieval sermons contain little indication of the specific circumstances of their delivery. Rather than a record of a speech act, they were often compiled in preparation, or in retrospect as aids for the composition of future sermons. In the few sermons to address specific instances, one can note the use of the interpretations of names in expanding upon the circumstances of the sermon's delivery: in an anonymous funeral oration for a nobleman named Simon, the *thema* of 1 Maccabees 5.21 ("Et abiit Simon", "And Simon went") was expanded using the definition of Simon as obedience; in an academic sermon, possibly preached by Ralph Frisby in Oxford at the 1330s, the name of his successor – Thomas – was interpreted as an abyss, the impenetrable depth of waters from which the wellsprings arise, and as twins, alluding to the dual nature of his scholarly engagement.<sup>26</sup> The contradictory and even lighthearted use of the latter example made use of the different definitions supplied by the *Aaz* glossary. It demonstrates the leeway this glossary granted a medieval preacher.

References to world events are the exception in extant sermons. Sermons, however, were commonly preached as part of the liturgy, and the link between biblical text and liturgical occasion underpins many preachers' explorations of the Bible. In this more enduring link between past and present the interpretation of biblical names likewise merited a place of honour. Thus, in a sermon preached by Ranulph of Houblonnière on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (possibly February 2, 1273), a link was made between the presentation of Samuel by Hannah and of Christ by Mary:

Ista oblatio figurata fuit in oblatione Samuelis I Reg 1, ubi dicitur quod Anna et uir eius Helchana tulerunt puerum Hely. Per Annam que interpretatur gratia significatur Maria que fuit gratia plena, per Helchanam uirum Anne

<sup>25</sup> The following is a qualitative rather than a quantitative survey. While a lack of union catalogues and editions inhibits the latter, the proliferation of Hebrew names in indices such as V. M. O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, eds., *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons* (Turnhout, 2007), 4 vols., attests to its significance at large.

<sup>26</sup> The two sermons were presented and translated by Siegfried Wenzel, *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*, Medieval Texts in Translation (Washington, D.C., 2008), pp. 236, 304–05. The relevant entries in the *Aaz* glossary are: "Simon obediens vel obedientia sive ponens tristitiam aut auditor rumoris;" "Thomas abissus vel gemitus, unde et grece Didimus appellatur". (These and the following entries are based on Cambridge, CCC, MS 484).

intelligimus Ioseph uirum Marie, per Samuelem puerum Ihesum qui purus fuit in carne, purior in mente, purissimus in sua deitate.<sup>27</sup>

Hannah's definition as grace was linked, through a common Marian attribute (based on Lk 1.28, which became one of the most popular hymns of the Middle Ages), to the figure of Mary; it served as a pivotal point for the entire shift, leading to the subsequent identification of husbands and sons. Using the meaning of Hannah's name, Ranulph destabilised the biblical text. He drew it away from its original narrative and into new fields of enquiry. Samuel's oblation was no longer seen as prefacing his prophetic life, but rather as a prefiguration of Christ. In the same sermon the interpretation of Mary as the star of the sea or a bitter sea ("stella maris et mare amarum") supports another shift of meaning. It is presented as a plea for all listeners to follow Mary's footsteps by repenting their sins.<sup>28</sup> The interpretation of the name "Mary" assisted in linking past and present. Moreover, it enabled each listener to see himself (or more appropriately, herself), as connected to Mary. The same function was employed by Jacobus de Voragine (†1298) in a sermon for the feast of St. Bartholomew:

Nam expoliauit [Jonathan] se tunica sua, et dedit eam Dauid. Per Ionatham qui donum columbe interpretatur, beatus Bartholomeus intelligitur, qui dono Spiritus sancti fuit repletus. Iste ergo qui diligebat Dauid, id est Christum, sicut animam suam, tunica se expoliauit, et dedit Dauid, quando propter Christi amorem se excoari permisit.<sup>29</sup>

The reference to the biblical story of David and Jonathan (1 Regum ch. 18) and the interpretation of the name of Jonathan support the extra-biblical

<sup>27</sup> "That oblation was figured in the oblation of Samuel (1 Regum ch. 1), where it is said that Hannah and her husband Elkanah brought the boy [Samuel] to Eli. By Hannah, who is interpreted grace, is signified Mary, who was full of grace, by Elkanah, Hanna's husband, we understand Joseph Mary's husband, by the boy Samuel – Jesus, who was immaculate in the flesh, more so in mind, most in his deity". The speech was printed in: Nicole Bériou, ed., *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1987), 2:58–63 at p. 67. The same interpretation was evoked by Ranulph in two other sermons (§18, for Good Friday, and §23, another sermon for the Purification). Anna's entry in the *Aaz* glossary is: "Anna gratia vel respondens, sive donans aut donatio".

<sup>28</sup> As the repentant is likened to the star due to his fragility, or the sea due to the bitterness of sin. *La prédication de Ranulphe*, 2:63 (and 2:290). The relevant entry in the *Aaz* glossary is: "Maria Smyrna maris vel stella maris, sive illuminans aut mare amarum. Syro autem sermone domina interpretatur".

<sup>29</sup> "In fact he [Jonathan] removed his tunic and he gave it to David. By Jonathan who signifies the gift of the dove, the blessed Bartholomew is signified, for he was filled by the Holy Spirit. Thus he who loved David (that is, Christ) like his soul, removed his tunic and he gave it to David when due to the love of Christ he allowed himself to be skinned alive", <http://sermones.net/content/en-iacobus-de-voragine-sermon-iv-feast-saint-bartholomew>, trans. George Ferzoco, consulted 28 June 2012.

narrative of Bartholomew's martyrdom. The biblical text is of little significance in this part of the sermon, and the image of Jonathan has little value on its own accord. The biblical story is merely employed to present the martyrdom narrative, in a shift of meaning that relied on the interpretation of Jonathan's name, and Bartholomew's death, as he was flayed alive for the love of Christ.

The IHN was an important means of amplification. As such, it assisted in expanding upon the biblical text by creating divisions, new meanings and narratives. In a sermon for the third Sunday of Lent (preached on 12 March, 1273), Ranulph employed the definition of Belzebut (Beelzebub) from the gospel reading of Luke, chapter 11 to create a tripartite division of the proud. Beelzebub is the Lord of the Flies ("princeps muscarum", as in the *Aaz* glossary), and much like the flies, the proud (1) rob their neighbours, (2) are quarrelsome and (3) act as lunatics, the latter equaled to usury.<sup>30</sup> Each of the three divisions is then expanded with additional biblical and extra-biblical episodes. At times, this type of use enabled a transition of an entire biblical narrative. Christ's entry to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday followed a specific route: according to the Gospel of Matthew, it led from a village called Bethphage (with the village of Bethany added in the Mk 11.1), through the Mount of Olives, to Jerusalem. As demonstrated by Bériou, Jean of Orléans, preaching in Paris at the 1260s, interpreted Bethphage as the house of mouth, that is the human race lost through the Apple, and the route of salvation history then passing through the Mount of Olives, that is the Virgin Mary, leading eventually to the heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup>

In an Advent Sunday sermon preached by Odo of Cheriton (†1246), the narrative of Christ's Journey to Jerusalem was seen as the progress of the righteous soul, rather than salvation history at large. Christ's arrival to Jerusalem from Bethany through Bethphage became a spiritual journey:

In pede montis Oliueti erant due civitates: Betphage et Bethania. Betphage interpretatur domus bucce, vel maxillarum; Bethania domus obedientie. Primo venit de Bethania per Betphage in Ierusalem, ut narrat Lucas, instruens nos per quam viam incedendum est ad supernam Ierusalem. De Bethania namque, id est de obedientia, transire debemus ad Betphage, id est ad oris confessionem ... ut a Bethania per Betphage ad visionem pacis transire valeamus.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *La prédication de Ranulphe*, 2:88.

<sup>31</sup> Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres*, p. 489.

<sup>32</sup> "At the foot of Mount of Olives there were two cities: Bethphage and Bethany. Bethphage is interpreted as the house of the mouth, or of jaws; Bethany the house of

The ultimate goal of each believer – reaching heavenly Jerusalem and the vision of peace – is achieved through acts of devotion, obedience and oral confession. First through Bethany (house of obedience) and then Bethphage (house of mouth, hence oral confession), the soul progresses to the Heavenly Jerusalem. The reception of Odo's sermon in late medieval England manifests once more how the brevity and multiplicity of the glossary's entries furnished different interpretations of this very biblical episode. Odo's sermon was revised and translated into Middle English by an anonymous author sympathetic to the Wycliffite cause. He replaced oral confession (a hallmark of the friars, often criticised by the followers of John Wyclif) with acknowledgement of sins and tears of repentance. This change of meaning was accomplished by simply choosing a different interpretation of the *Aaz* glossary, seeing Bethphage as a house of tears.<sup>33</sup>

The link between Christ's journey and the Virgin Mary was evoked also by John Waldeby († after 1372) in a less than a smooth transition:

"& venisset bethfage" qui interpretatur domus bucce, id est uterus virginis in quo fuit unum nature humane ad verbum tanquam pacis osculum. Sicut exponit Bernardus super illud cantico primo "osculetur me osculo oris sui &c" [Sg 1.1]<sup>34</sup>

Although Waldeby's understanding follows the relevant entry in the IHN and fits perfectly with the liturgical occasion of the sermon and his own Marian devotion, the connection between mouth, kiss and womb is nebulous, to say the very least. Christ's entry to Jerusalem is linked to the Incarnation through the identification of Bethphage with Mary's womb. This connection relies upon the common interpretation of Bethphage as mouth, which is then linked with another biblical mouth – that of the first verse of the Song of Songs. This transition is still far from explicit, as Mary does not appear in that Old Testament book, nor in the account of

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obedience. At first he came from Bethany, through Bethphage to Jerusalem, as Luke relates, instructing us through which way one should rise with fire to Heavenly Jerusalem. Of Bethany certainly, that is of obedience, we ought to pass to Bethphage, that is to oral confession ... so that we shall be able to cross from Bethany through Bethphage to the vision of peace". The sermon was printed (along its Middle English later revision) by: H. L. Spencer, "Middle English Sermons" in *The Sermon*, pp. 597–660 (with the quoted section appearing at pp. 642–43). The definitions in the *Aaz* glossary are: "therosolima pacifica vel visio pacis"; "Bethania domus obedientie vel domus afflictionis eius seu domus doni Dei aut domus gratificata domino"; "Bethphage domus oris vel domus bucce seu domus oris vallium aut domus maxillarum, Syrum est non Hebreum."

<sup>33</sup> Spencer, "Middle English Sermons", pp. 640–41.

<sup>34</sup> "and he came to Bethphage" [Mt 21.1], which is interpreted as house of the mouth, that is the Virgin's womb, in which a union was made of the human nature to the Word, just



Matthew 21. However, the biblical kiss was understood by medieval exegetes, including Bernard of Clairvaux, as an allegory of the Advent of Christ, with reference to the Kiss of Peace. Philip of Harvengt's (†1183) commentary on the Song of Songs fits Waldeby's argument well, linking the kiss with Mary's womb and the coming together of the two natures ("Haec assumptio, haec junctura qua deus sibi uoluit hominem personaliter cōnūre, et naturam cum natura foedus pacis in utero uirginis ferire uel unire").<sup>35</sup>

Among the pages of a Late Medieval Bible such a connection is often displayed graphically. The initial O of *Osculetur*, the opening word of the Song of Songs, is frequently illuminated with an image of Mary and Christ the child (fig. 9.1, Edinburgh University Library, MS 2, fol. 229v).<sup>36</sup> Waldeby thus follows exegetical and visual narratives in connecting the kiss of the lovers from the Song of Songs to Mary, and the kiss of the mouth to the Advent of Christ: the place of the kiss – the mouth – is ascribed to the place of the Incarnation, Mary's womb; the womb is then connected, through the mouth, to Bethphage – a place on Christ's path in the day's pericope. Unlike Odo's and Jean of Orléans's seamless incorporation of the IHN, Waldeby went to great lengths to accommodate the definition of Bethphage into his understanding of the connection between the Kiss of Peace and Christ's Advent. His troubles exemplify the importance of the IHN for a medieval preacher, as well as an inevitable outcome of the use of this glossary. The succinct entries of the glossary, especially in the *Aaz* rendering, offered preachers a high degree of flexibility. As seen in the above examples, they supported literal, allegorical, anagogical or tropological understandings of Scripture. Their brevity meant that the glossary's entries could not function in their own accord; preachers had to employ additional means to expand upon the interpretation, integrating these brief definitions into the fabric of sermons. They were thus able to weave

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as the kiss of peace. As Bernard expounded this on the first Canticle 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth etc.'" Bodl., Laud misc. MS 77, fol. 26v (=Bodl., Bodley MS 687, fol. 79ra). On the sermon collection: Yuichi Akae, *A Study of the Sermon Collection of John Waldeby, Austin Friar of York in the Fourteenth Century*, PhD Diss. Leeds, 2004; Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 40–44, 625–30.

<sup>35</sup> "That Assumption, that joining in which God wanted to come together himself personally to a man, and to make the treatise of peace in the Virgin's womb or to unite nature with nature", Philippus de Harvengt, *Commentaria in Cantica Cantecorum*, book 1, cap. 1 (PL 203:192). See also *Glossa Ordinaria*, 2:708.

<sup>36</sup> Similar images are: BL, MS Additional 15,253, fol. 172vb; BL, MS Royal MS 1 D.iv, fol. 249va; BL, MS Royal MS 1 D.i, fol. 272rb. The proximity between Mary and Christ is most visible in BL, MS Egerton 2867, fol. 282v.



their own message (typically moral admonition) into the biblical text, presenting it as an integral part of the literal sense of Scripture.

### CONCLUSION

Biblical glossaries, biblical manuscripts and preaching techniques evolved hand in hand. The sequence of the *Aaz* glossary suited single-volume Bibles perfectly; its immense popularity, surpassing contemporary glossaries such as the *Adam* and *Aaron*, emanated from its detachment from biblical narrative and its appeal to medieval preachers. Not restricted to a single strand of exegesis, these entries enabled preachers to destabilise the biblical text; by alluding to its definition, a biblical personal- or place-name was detached from its original context. The discrepancy between etymology and context then proved an invaluable opportunity to integrate church doctrine, be it in the connection between Old and New Testaments, in bringing the biblical past closer to the listeners' present (in reference to world events or to the liturgical reality), or in furnishing the preachers' message of moral admonition. Such use perfectly befitted the New Form of preaching, whose reliance on a fraction of the pericope, as well as the construction of major and minor divisions, favoured explorations of the biblical text, often removed from its narrative qualities.

The link between the IHN and medieval preaching might explain its modern afterlife. Although it was not based on true Hebrew scholarship (especially in the *Aaz* glossary), it nevertheless enabled preachers and exegetes to identify and appreciate the Semitic origins of the Vulgate. It also created a boundary of learning between them and their audience, who were devoid of any Hebrew knowledge. (This boundary was often a matter of appearance, rather than reality, as the profuse use of the IHN masked a dearth in actual Hebrew knowledge.<sup>37</sup>) Absent from Gutenberg's celebrated 42-lines Bible (which replicates the Late Medieval Bible in almost every other way), the IHN still appeared in several fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Bibles.<sup>38</sup> In general, however, it gradually faded

<sup>37</sup> In a sermon for the Assumption, Ranoulph employs the etymology of Beersheba as the well of satiety ("puteus sacietatis") as a link to Virgin Mary, mistaking, however, it to be the name of Solomon's mother (Bethsabee, 3 Reg 2.19): *La prédication de Ranulphe*, 2:308.

<sup>38</sup> Olivier Szerwiniack, "Les glossaires de nom hébreux dans les Bibles latines imprimées au XVe et XVIe siècles: quelques jalons" in *Biblia – Les Bibles en latin au temps des Réformes*, dir. Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (Paris, 2008), pp. 211–29.

away, and became a rarity after the mid-sixteenth century. Although the increased knowledge of Hebrew made its entries appear outdated, if not plainly erroneous, it was possibly the decline of the New Form of preaching and a celebrated return to the homiletic form that assisted in its downfall, thus linking the end of the glossary (as well as its beginning) to preaching techniques. The value of Hebrew names, nevertheless, remained central for generations of editors and readers. Glossaries of biblical name, though of a different nature, appeared in Catholic and Protestant Bibles alike. As evident in the Geneva Bible (1560, with numerous subsequent editions) or the Douai-Reims Bible (1582/1609), biblical glossaries remained a fascination long after the IHN had gone out of fashion.<sup>39</sup>

The study of the IHN, its nature and reception, is only at its early stages. More work is needed on the minor variants within each edition, as on its use in sermons, exegetical works and literary narratives. Such an investigation is inhibited by the number of surviving manuscripts of the IHN, as well as by the relative paucity of modern editions of sermons; it is, however, assisted by new digital media, and the gradual rise of digital editions and databases will no doubt shed additional light on the evolution and reception of biblical glossaries. As demonstrated by the first few entries of the glossary, as well as by the word *Nechota*, work is also needed on the very basic question of the connection between glossary and Bible, and the analysis of origins and reception of the entries added to the *Aaz* glossary is an important desideratum. The study of the IHN, much like that of the Late Medieval Bible at large, is still in a preliminary phase. Nevertheless, it reveals much on how the medieval Bible was known, explored and mediated.

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<sup>39</sup> *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Grek...* (Geneva, 1560); *The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin...* (Reims, 1582); *The holie Bible faithfully translated into English, out of the authentical Latin...* (Douai, 1609/10).

VERNACULAR BIBLES, BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS AND THE PARIS  
BIBLE IN ITALY FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY: A FIRST REPORT

Sabina Magrini

INTRODUCTION

It is demonstrable that Latin Bible manuscripts underwent some standardization in Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This process, which affected both material and textual aspects, has been related to the needs of professionals of the sacred page, masters involved in university teaching and preachers, many from the mendicant orders, requiring quick and easy access to the biblical text. The new type of Bible was immensely successful and spread rapidly all over Western Europe (France, England, Spain and Italy), strongly influencing local Bible production. These new Parisian-style Bibles were somewhat uniform in their material and textual features: portable size, single volume, layout, standard book sequence and chapter division, as well as the presence of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names. However, they were never a uniform edition and certainly did not represent an absolute standard, not even in Paris itself.

The analysis of the mechanisms underlying the diffusion of the Paris Bible in Italy benefits from two different approaches: 1. a direct one which traces the links between Latin and vernacular Bibles produced in the peninsula from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and their dependency on Parisian models;<sup>2</sup> 2. an indirect approach aimed at evaluating the penetration of the Parisian-style Bible in Italy by examining the nature and contents of Biblical quotations in contemporary Latin and vernacular sermons.

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of the main features of the Paris Bible with further bibliography, see Laura Light, "Versions et révisions du texte biblique" in *Le Moyen Age et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris, 1984), pp. 55–93, at pp. 75–93 and the introduction to the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> On the production of Latin Bibles in Italy, see Sabina Magrini, "Production and Use of Latin Bible Manuscripts in Italy during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Manuscripta* 51:2 (2007), 209–257.

LATIN BIBLES, VERNACULAR BIBLES AND THE PARIS BIBLE IN ITALY FROM  
THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

*Latin Bibles*

Analysis of the Latin Bibles produced in Italy reveals that these are typical of a commercial, relatively standardized and up-to-date book production. Similarity to the Paris Bible was strongly linked to the university world, viz. Bologna and its surroundings. This is hardly a surprise. The book ateliers at work there satisfied the needs of students and masters. Many of these professionals of the sacred page had studied in Paris and were familiar with the tools (such as biblical Concordances) that the Paris schools had implemented, tools that relied on key paratextual features, primarily standard chapter divisions. They had very high expectations from their Bibles, especially regarding key characteristics such as portability, single-volume format, specific layout, modern book sequence, chapter divisions and the presence of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names. All these elements, therefore, can be found quite regularly in Bibles produced in a university milieu in Italy.

Even further afield, where university models were not well known or considered as compelling as in Bologna, or where it was not possible to commission the production of manuscripts reflecting the Parisian model, Bibles following older exemplars were adapted by users to the new mode. In some earlier-style Bibles, Parisian-style textual readings, prologues, chapter divisions and variants were added wherever possible in the margins, in blank spaces and on flyleaves.<sup>3</sup> The readers of these Latin Bibles, quite often friars, made great efforts to revise their Bibles so that they would comply with the standards of the particular type of Bible they had learned to use and appreciate during their theological studies in Paris or in other university towns.<sup>4</sup> Resistance to the standardization process occurred as well, as evident in a number of Latin Bibles read in specific religious contexts or destined for lay patrons. Amongst the latter, Bibles connected to the patronage of Manfred Hohenstaufen of Naples and Sicily (†1266) or to the Angevin kings of Naples (mid-fourteenth century) and their immediate circles often contain *capitula* lists and extra-canonical

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<sup>3</sup> A similar process is evident in Bibles from Durham Cathedral, addressed in Richard Gameson's essay in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> On interventions in non-Parisian Bibles by the readers themselves see Magrini, "Production and Use", 246–248.

texts such as Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans or the Fourth Book of Esdras.<sup>5</sup> Although common in Bibles up until the twelfth century, these texts were not usually integrated into Paris Bibles. Hohenstaufen and Angevin Bibles also embraced the modern chapter division only hesitantly. Evidently these manuscripts were copied in contexts where older models were not only accessible but actually sought after for their symbolic prestige. The Bibles' patrons, mostly laypeople, were far more concerned with the beauty of their ornament than with their compliance with the newest academic models. As can be imagined, very few of these manuscripts bear traces of actual use or of textual re-adaptation.

Another interesting case of resistance to the new mode is that of certain Latin New Testaments, identified and studied by Luba Eleen.<sup>6</sup> Their content and format suggests that they were conceived neither for scholarly study nor to serve a liturgical function (e.g. lessons or refectory reading) in a community. What can be deduced from their iconography and additional texts supports the hypothesis that they may have been produced for lay penitential confraternities.<sup>7</sup> In two of the manuscripts (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 39 and MS Chigi A.IV.74), the influence of the Paris Bible, at least in regards to chapter divisions, is not the strongest. In Vat. lat. 39 (Verona, mid-thirteenth century), the initials marking the modern chapter divisions are original and not added; nevertheless the text bears a great quantity of other *litterae notabiliores* referring to previous chapter-division systems. In the Chigi New Testament, a contemporary of Vat. lat. 39 and likewise ascribed to Verona, the modern chapters were added only in retrospect. The same reluctance to accept the new chapter system has been noted recently by Chiara Ruzzier, who studied 122 New Testaments produced all over Europe between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, New Testaments written in the mid-thirteenth century commonly still include the old chapter divisions.

Amaury d'Esneval in his study of the divisions of the Vulgate has argued that the pre-Langtonian chapter divisions were conceived for "le récit

<sup>5</sup> As concerns this group of Bibles, its particular textual features and lack of conformity with the Parisian model, see Sabina Magrini, "La Bibbia di Matheus de Planisio (Vat. Lat. 3550, I-III): Documenti e modelli per lo studio della produzione scritturale in età angioina", *Codices manuscripti* 50/51 (2005), 1–16.

<sup>6</sup> Luba Eleen, "A Thirteenth-Century Workshop of Miniature Painters in the Veneto", *Arte Veneta* 39 (1985), 9–21; eadem, "New Testament Manuscripts and their Lay Owners in Verona in the Thirteenth Century", *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), 221–236.

<sup>7</sup> Eleen, "New Testament Manuscripts", pp. 227–232.

<sup>8</sup> Chiara Ruzzier, "La produzione di manoscritti neotestamentari in Italia nel XIII secolo: analisi codicologica", *Segno e testo* 6 (2008), 249–294, at pp. 263–264, 282.

biblique”, usually organized as a sequence of complete episodes, whilst the modern divisions satisfied the scholarly requirement for textual portions of equal size better to facilitate quotations and retrieval.<sup>9</sup> The hypothesis that these manuscripts gave preference to the narrative sequences of the life of Christ and the Apostles is confirmed by the extensive iconography found in some, including the two above-mentioned Vatican copies, as well as another one in the Falk Giustiniani private Collection, ascribed to the Veneto region and to the first years of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The illustrations occupy half a page (horizontally or vertically) and are adjacent as well as perfectly linked to the relevant text. The focus is quite clearly on the stories and the detailed portrait of the characters and their surroundings. Textual divisions that interrupted the narrative would have been foreign in this context, and hence were omitted.<sup>11</sup> These same observations can be applied to the way other, non-illustrated, New Testaments of this corpus were read and used for meditation. This type of sequential and narrative reading was different from the way Bibles were read by trained professionals.

The choice of the New Testament without the Old also points to a completely different world from that of the professionals of the sacred page. Lay religious movements, which flourished in Europe from the twelfth century onwards, often turned to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles for spiritual guidance. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many of these codices can be traced back to a world of lay patronage, ownership and worship in the context of the rich merchant cities of Northern Italy.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Amaury d'Esneval, “La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIIIe siècle”, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978), 559–568, at pp. 563, 566–567.

<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Valagussa, “Miniature veneziane, 1200–1210” in *Miniature a Brera 1100–1422: Manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense e da collezioni private*, ed. Miklós Boskovitz with Giovanni Valagussa and Milvia Bollati (Milan, 1997), pp. 34–45.

<sup>11</sup> Five centuries later John Locke lamented the negative impact of verse and chapter division on the full understanding of biblical texts in his *An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul himself* (London, 1707), pp. 14–15; see Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 55–57. I am very grateful to Eyal Poleg for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>12</sup> This is most evident in the lay figures kneeling at the feet of Christ or the Virgin Mary respectively in BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 39 and Chigi A.IV.74, both ascribed specifically to Verona for liturgical reasons; the *ex libris* in Bodl., MS Canon Bibl. Lat. 7 (an early-thirteenth-century New Testament with the explanation of the *Symbolum apostolorum* and mnemonic verses on *Articuli fidei* and the *Sacramenta ecclesiae* added on the front flyleaves) identifies the book's owner as the notary *Bartolomeus de Sablonis de Sancto Matheo*, who took part in an election of representatives of the confraternity connected to the Servants of Mary in Verona in 1424 (although it is probable that the manuscript had belonged to a



*Italian Vernacular Bibles*

The analysis of vernacular Bibles produced in Italy can also shed new light on the use and appearance of Bibles employed by the laity. I have therefore extended my analysis to a small group of twelve fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts containing Old and New Testament books in the Italian vernacular and therefore presumably addressed to a public of Latin illiterate or partially literate lay men and women. This analysis enables us to trace the influence of the Paris Bible on vernacular Bibles, and to question its extent.

The witnesses chosen for my analysis are listed in the *Inventario dei manoscritti biblici italiani* published in 1993 by Lino Leonardi.<sup>13</sup> The *Inventario* includes 358 manuscripts, but not many of these are complete Bibles: indeed, most are compilations of several biblical books, single biblical books, or rearrangements of biblical material and expositions. In the *Inventario*, the rearrangements and expositions are very much focused on the New Testament; manuscripts containing the New Testament as a whole or single books of the Gospels, Acts, Epistles or the Apocalypse surpass those of the Old Testament (both as a whole or as represented by single Wisdom books).<sup>14</sup>

The witnesses studied here comprise six items containing the Old Testament (Laur., MS Ashburnham 1102; BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi C. III. 626; BL, MS Additional 15277 and Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, MS 212 [once belonging to the same manuscript]; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MSS 1552–1553; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MSS F.III.4 and I.V.5); three New Testaments (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1787; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS in Venice: Siena, Biblioteca

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anon in Gravellona, Pavia, in the thirteenth century). See also Ruzzier, "Produzione di manoscritti", p. 287.

<sup>13</sup> Lino Leonardi, "Inventario dei manoscritti biblici", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 105:2 (1993), 863–886.

<sup>14</sup> The moral nature of the layman's interest in Holy Writ is confirmed by the type of non-biblical texts bound in some of these manuscripts: BNC, II.IV.127 contains Rhetorical works by Brunetto Latini and Bono Giamboni, as well as the moral collections *Fiori e vita di filosofi e d'altri savi ed imperatori*, *Sentenze morali*, Proverbs, and the *Libro di costumanza*, the latter ascribed to Horace; BNC, MS II.VIII.11 contains moral treatises by Bono Giamboni (*Della miseria dell'uomo*), Albertanus of Brescia (*Dottrina del tacere e del parlare*) and the Four Gospels. These spiritual guides integrated materials from classical, biblical and contemporary sources to assist in moral edification. For a description of these two manuscripts see *I manoscritti della letteratura italiana delle origini*: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ed. Sandro Bertelli (Tavarnuzze [Impruneta], 2002), pp. 96–97, 102–103, and Sabrina Corbellini's essay in this volume.

Comunale degli Intronati, MS F.I.4); two Pandects (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1252;<sup>15</sup> Lyon, BM, MSS 1367–1368) and one containing just the Book of Proverbs (BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi B. III. 173). Clearly this ratio between Old and New Testaments does not reflect the *Inventario* as a whole. The sample I have chosen is greatly biased towards complete Bibles and Old and New Testament compilations; it can therefore provide clear evidence of book sequence and chapter divisions, two of the features of the Paris Bible that had the greatest diffusion in Italy, at least in Latin Bible production and that could be more easily imported into Bibles in Italian.

My choice of vernacular Bibles aims at unfolding the connection between their production and articulation and the Parisian model: a model dominant in the world of “official” and Latin Bible production. For each of these manuscripts I have examined codicological and palaeographical details, editorial/textual peculiarities, as well as all those elements that can help reconstruct the context in which the manuscript was used.

The manuscripts range from the crudest to the most prestigious productions. On one extreme, the exceptionally modest Old Testament, Conv. Sopr. C.III.626, was copied and owned by the Florentine Ghozzo di Nuccino Ghozzi.<sup>16</sup> A medium-format (292 × 219 mm) paper manuscript, datable to the mid-fourteenth century and containing the Heptateuch, it is in a typical mercantesca script and in long lines that reminds one more of a *Libro di ricordanze* or an accountant’s book than a literary text. Only the first folios have been rubricated, and the rest merely include red paragraph marks [fig. 10.1].<sup>17</sup> Two examples illustrate the other extreme, viz. that of luxury manuscripts. The first part of a *Bibbia historiata* (now divided into two manuscripts, Rovigo 212 and Add. 15277), is a medium-large format (339 × 245 mm) parchment manuscript copied in Padua around 1400 in a formalized small *rotunda*, which contains the Octateuch. It is entirely and methodically illustrated by a series of vignettes (four for each folio) with the biblical text having a merely auxiliary/explanatory function.<sup>18</sup> It is not clear who commissioned the manuscript, but soon

<sup>15</sup> The manuscript is acephalous, and the Old Testament begins from Ecclesiastes.

<sup>16</sup> *I manoscritti datati del fondo Conventi soppressi della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, ed. Simona Bianchi (Tavarnuzze [Impruneta], 2002), p. 127.

<sup>17</sup> On similar Bibles, as well as other lavish Italian Bibles, see Sabrina Corbellini’s essay in this volume.

<sup>18</sup> *La Bibbia istoriata padovana della fine del Trecento, Pentateuco, Giosuè, Ruth*, ed. Gianfranco Folena and Gian Lorenzo Mellini (Venice, 1962), pp. xv–xxiii.

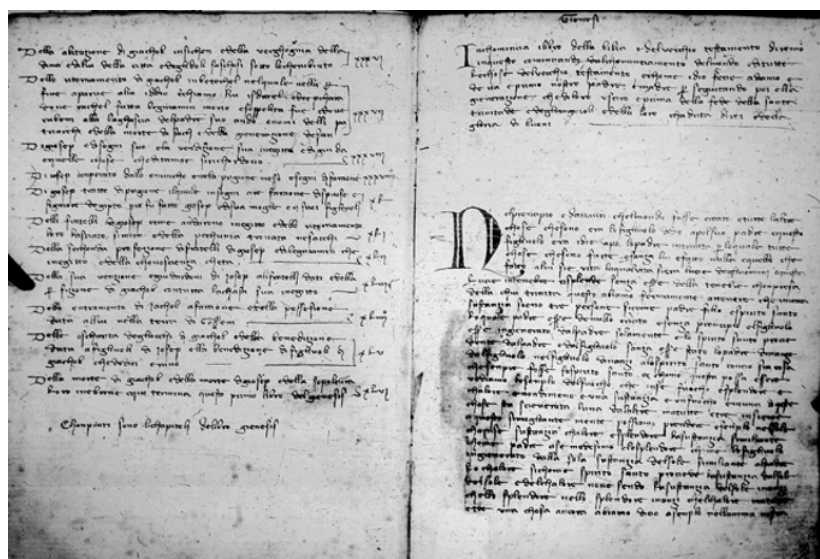


Figure 10.1. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Conventi Soppressi C. III. 626, fols. 5v-6r.

after it was made it seems to have been in Jewish hands; certainly the presence of Jewish elements in both text and illumination indicates the compiler of the paraphrase and the original illuminator were close to, and interested in, Jewish culture and traditions.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Lyon BM 1367–1368,<sup>20</sup> datable to the second half of the fifteenth century, is a unique example of a complete Bible of excellent quality in the Italian vernacular: medium-large format (368 × 245 mm), parchment, lavish decoration, written in a formal *textualis* in Florence and commissioned for Lucrezia Tornabuoni who married Piero de Medici in 1444.

In between these extremes, other manuscripts reveal different degrees of quality and production. Conv. Soppr. B.III.173 from the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, is a small format (225 × 150 mm), composite miscellany, compiled during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which contains the Book of Proverbs as well as a series of *Quaestiones* by Dominican friars. The section containing Proverbs is on

<sup>19</sup> Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "The Antecedents of the Padua Bible and its Parallels in Spain," *Arte Medievale* 4:2 (2005), 83–94, at p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> Edoardo Barbieri, "Sulla storia della Bibbia volgare di Lione," *La Bibliofilia* 99 (1997), 211–233.

parchment in a dual-column layout, with small margins and poor decoration (a red penwork initial with blue filigree for the incipit, and initials touched in red for textual sections). The text has been copied in a rapid and disorderly small Italian *textualis*. Other examples of medium-quality production are the two fourteenth-century Old Testaments now at the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena: paper, medium-large format (405 × 285 mm), mercantesca script, incomplete penwork decoration and running titles in one item (MS F III 4), which once belonged to the brethren of the confraternity of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena; paper, smaller format (300 × 225 mm), Italian chancery script, in the other (MS I V 5), that most probably belonged to the same confraternity.<sup>21</sup> Neither bears any sign of actual use.

Two manuscripts are characterized by a large format (402 × 280 mm on average), the use of paper, a two-column layout with wide margins, and careful pen-work initials for each book's incipit and chapter initials. Ricc. 1252 is what remains of a once complete Bible copied in Italian *textualis*, dating back to the first half of the fourteenth century, which was owned by the powerful Florentine Ubertino di Rossello Strozzi; Laur. Ashburnham 1102, an Old Testament written in *humanistica cursiva* dated to 1466 belonged to a Francesco Tonietti from Arezzo and then to the scientist and physician Francesco Redi.<sup>22</sup> Three other fourteenth-century, medium- to small-format (220 × 152 mm on average) manuscripts include the features of an even higher level of book production: the use of parchment; a precise decorative scheme of painted initials for book incipits and pen-work initials for chapter divisions; and carefully traced *rotunda* or *textualis* script. This is the case for two New Testaments: Marc. It. I 2<sup>23</sup> and Ricc. 1787,<sup>24</sup> as well as the Old Testament in two volumes, Ang. 1552–3.<sup>25</sup> The first can be traced back to a religious context, possibly under Augustinian influence, on the basis of liturgical marginalia and an obit on fol. 101v which recalls how in 1414 “muri fra zoane da florenzia in ferara e si fo soterato in sancto andrea” (“Fra Zoane from Florence died in Ferrara and was buried in S. Andrea”). The church of S. Andrea in Ferrara had been

<sup>21</sup> Roberta Manetti and Giancarlo Savino, “I libri dei Disciplinati di Santa Maria della Scala di Siena”, *Bollettino senese di storia patria* 97 (1990), 122–192, at p. 191.

<sup>22</sup> Enrico Rostagno, “La Bibbia di Francesco Redi”, *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi* 6 (1895), 95–109.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Berger, “La Bible italienne au Moyen Age”, *Romania* 23 (1894), 358–431, at pp. 415, 429–430.

<sup>24</sup> Berger, “La Bible italienne”, p. 427.

<sup>25</sup> Enrico Celani, ed., “R. Biblioteca Angelica” in *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 22 (Florence 1915), pp. 12–13.

officiated by Austin friars since 1256. The second manuscript was likewise used under mendicant influence, probably Franciscan, as shown by the feasts for St. Francis and St. Anthony in the list of gospel readings in the first folios of the manuscript. The third bears no sign of actual use.

From a textual point of view, the situation presented by all these witnesses is also quite complex. In general the Paris Bible influenced the sequence of books. Nevertheless a few exceptions should be signaled: in the Bible owned by Ubertino di Rossello Strozzi (Ricc. 1252) and in the Bible once belonging to Lucrezia Tornabuoni (Lyon BM 1367–1368) the New Testament follows the order of Gospels, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Acts and Apocalypse.<sup>26</sup> The link between the two Bibles extends also to the prologue for Daniel, which in both is a historical text on Babylonian rule.<sup>27</sup> Also noteworthy is the insertion of the Book of Susannah (chapter 14 of the book of Daniel) between the books of Judith and Esther in the Bible at the Angelica (MSS 1552–3, fols. 28vb–29vb). It has its own rubricated title “Qui finisce illibro di iudith. Comincia la legenda de Susanna” (“Here ends the book of Judith. Begins the legend of Susannah”) and running title, just as if it were a biblical book like any other. Evidently, the organizer of this Bible or its model wanted to group together the stories of the three Jewish heroines. The series was possibly intended to present a biblical role model which illustrated the triumph over evil by the pious, the brave and the faithful to God.

In the sample manuscripts, the modern chapter divisions are integrated only haphazardly. A few examples illustrate this point. Four manuscripts omit the new chapter system altogether: the Old Testament copied in mercantesca by Ghozzo di Nuccino Ghozzi (Conv. Soppr. C.III.626) follows a system that has no parallels in De Bruyne's Repertory.<sup>28</sup> Both Genesis and Exodus are nevertheless preceded by a list of chapters, where the content of each is briefly described; the situation is similar in the two Old Testaments in Siena. In F.III.4 Genesis is preceded by a list of chapters that summarizes the content of the whole book, and divisions in every book are preceded by rubrics highlighting the contents of that particular

<sup>26</sup> This is not Parisian. According to Samuel Berger, it is typical of the “Bible italienne” as witnessed in two Latin Bible manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 2 and BL, Harley MS 1287 (Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* [Paris, 1893], p. 340 n. 14).

<sup>27</sup> The prologue is an adaptation of Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (PL 198: 1425–27); Barbieri, “Sulla storia della Bibbia”, p. 222 n. 37.

<sup>28</sup> *Sommaires, divisions et rubriques de la Bible latine*, ed. Donatien de Bruyne (Namur, 1914).

portion of text. In I.V.5, the chapter divisions not only follow a system dissimilar to the modern one, but are also unnumbered. In the Proverbs manuscript (Conv. Soppr. B.III.173), the system adopted is the one found in most Bibles prior to the diffusion of the modern chapters: a new division for each new “didactic” section. In all cases the textual division clearly focuses on the biblical narrative.

In other manuscripts (Laur. Ashburnham 1102; Ricc. 1252; BL Add. 15277 and Rovigo 212; Ang. 1552–1553) the new chapter system was adopted for only some books of the Bible. Particularly interesting is the *Biblia historiata* now in Rovigo and London. There, the modern chapter division is regular and precise all through Genesis, inconsistent in Exodus and totally abandoned from Leviticus onwards. Evidently the new chapter division was not considered relevant for a Bible whose emphasis was on the development of the illustrated narrative (as in the resistance towards the modern chapter division in the Latin New Testaments from Verona, Vat. lat. 39 and Chigi A.IV.74).

Only three witnesses reveal a consistent use of the modern chapter division: the New Testament now in Venice (Marc. it. I 2) that can be connected to the Austin friars in Ferrara, the gospels kept in Florence (Ricc. 1787) and the Gospels at Siena (MS I.V.4) – the latter two related to a Franciscan milieu. It is worth noting that these three manuscripts incorporate other liturgical texts (e.g. lists of feasts and gospel readings; a calendar); two of them (those in Venice and Florence) also resemble the Parisian model from a material point of view (mise-en-page, hierarchy of scripts and decoration). Furthermore, in the margins of the manuscripts in Florence and Siena concordances to similar passages of the Gospels were added using the citation system typical of the Paris schools: gospel book, chapter in roman numerals, and paragraph distinguished by use of the letters *a-g*.<sup>29</sup>

In summary, although the manuscript sample is limited, it is evident that the most Parisian amongst the vernacular Bible manuscripts are all closely linked to mendicant communities, viz. to those users who were responsible in the first place for the penetration of the Paris Bible into Italy. Their patrons and readers were so familiar with the material,

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<sup>29</sup> On the introduction and growing use of these tools see Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century” in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. eidem (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991), pp. 221–255 (= “La diffusion en Occident au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle des outils de travail facilitant l'accès aux textes autoritatifs”, *Revue des études islamiques* 44 [1976], 114–147).

textual and organizational features of this model that they surely appreciated, and may even have solicited, these very same features in their vernacular Bibles. This manuscript evidence may shed important light on the role religious orders (and the mendicants particularly) played in the translation and diffusion of vernacular Bibles in Italy. It should be noted that at least two other of the manuscripts examined (the Old Testament copied by and belonging to Ghozzo Ghozzi and the Proverbs manuscript) were once owned by the Dominican convent library of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

Vittorio Coletti has already highlighted how, notwithstanding the suspicious attitude of ecclesiastical authorities towards the vernacular (the Dominican General chapter in 1242 forbade friars to translate sermons and holy Writ into the vernacular) and the prohibitions on the possession of Bibles in Latin or the vernacular by the laity (Councils of Toulouse in 1229 and Tarragona in 1234, whose decisions were partly due to the specific heresies in early-thirteenth-century Southern France and Spain), the mendicants, in particular the Dominicans, took an active role in the translation process.<sup>30</sup> In this way they could exercise some control on the translations and ensure the orthodoxy of the biblical texts. Their influence possibly extended to paratextual elements such as standard book sequence and chapter division. The translation of the Acts of the Apostles, at least traditionally ascribed to the Dominican Domenico Cavalca, is interesting from this point of view: originally it did not follow the new chapter divisions but subsequently in a number of manuscripts the text was reorganized according to the modern system.<sup>31</sup>

The absence of the modern chapter division in many vernacular Bibles from Italy induced Samuel Berger to date the translations themselves to the first half of the thirteenth century, the years prior to the diffusion of the new chapter division.<sup>32</sup> Lino Leonardi has already declared that this may not be the case; he notes that apart from the fact that the system took some time to spread outside the Paris region, new evidence demonstrates that at least for some Bibles the translations date between the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> As the witnesses

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<sup>30</sup> Vittorio Coletti, *Parole dal pulpito: Chiesa e movimenti religiosi tra Latino e volgare nell'Italia del Medioevo e del Rinascimento* (Casale Monferrato, 1983), p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> Edoardo Barbieri, *Le Bibbie italiane del '400 e del '500* (Milan, 1992), p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 372, 373, 385.

<sup>33</sup> Lino Leonardi, "Versioni e revisioni dell'Apocalisse in volgare" in *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. idem (Impruneta, 1998), p. 84.

examined here have shown, the partial or complete integration or omission of these divisions may also depend on the interests and reading habits of their patrons and readers.

# SERMON PRODUCTION AND THE PARIS BIBLE IN ITALY IN THE THIRTEENTH – FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

## *Towards Analysis*

Key to the analysis of the impact of the Paris Bible on sermon production in Italy is the question of sources. In Italy, sermons in Latin are witnessed mainly by sermon collections rather than *reportationes* – at least in the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Some collections were used in preachers' schools, while others were intended for private use. The first were destined to be published and therefore carefully prepared in the study room – by nature corresponding more to a written discourse rather than an oral one – revealing explicitly their author, patron and destination; the latter are often found in a *codex unicus* and bear no indication of their production.<sup>35</sup> Sermons delivered in the vernacular must have existed by the thirteenth century, but they were certainly not the norm and, with few exceptions, are not witnessed by a specific vernacular tradition. As Carlo Delcorno has explained, to find traces of any vernacular preaching it is necessary to peruse the hundreds of surviving Latin sermons.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, it should be noted that even if delivered in a language more easily understood by the laity, sermons in the vernacular were in effect bilingual: scriptural quotations and the *formulae* distinguishing the various divisions and *distinctiones* were generally in Latin. A free vernacular translation of the Latin Bible usually, but not always, followed the quotation.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding the different degrees of complexity in both Latin and vernacular sermons, it is possible to recognize the articulations of the *sermo modernus* introduced by a *thema*, in theory a verse from the Old or the New Testament. The sermon develops the *thema*, dividing and subdividing the arguments and shedding light on the various aspects

<sup>34</sup> Laura Gaffuri, "La prédication en Italie (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)" in *Cultures italiennes (XII<sup>e</sup> – XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Isabelle Heullant-Donat (Paris, 2000), pp. 193–237, at p. 203.

<sup>35</sup> Carlo Delcorno, "La predicazione volgare in Italia (sec. XIII–XIV). Teoria, produzione, ricezione", *Revue Mabillon* 4:65 (1993), 83–107, at p. 84.

<sup>36</sup> Delcorno, "La predicazione volgare", p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> Delcorno, "La predicazione volgare", p. 84.



and allegories hidden behind the literal meaning of the biblical text. For both Latin and vernacular sermons therefore, the constant quotation of Scripture as proof, and the composition of these various biblical quotations into a unified whole, is clearly paramount. For this reason, the analysis of the quotation techniques used in sermons can contribute greatly to our understanding of the dissemination of the Paris Bible chapter divisions in Italy.

The *reportationes* of contemporary Latin or vernacular sermons naturally complete the picture of available sources. *Reportationes* in Italy appeared somewhat later than in France and often differ from the French example as devout laypeople, rather than clerics, were involved in their production.<sup>38</sup> Naturally, as Jacqueline Hamesse has pointed out while discussing *reportationes* in general, the text of the quotations preserved in the text of the *reportationes* was produced by the reporter rather than the author. In most cases reporters revised their notes after recording sermons,<sup>39</sup> but their accounts still contribute valuable information on the diffusion and use of the Paris Bible in Italy, not only amongst the preachers themselves. Thus the importance of lay-reportage for the study of the diffusion of the knowledge of scriptural text is evident.

My investigation examines the place of Paris Bibles in sermons through two interrelated questions: 1. What was the format of biblical quotations (viz. citation formulae and textual references) during the thirteenth, fourteenth and early fifteenth century in Latin and vernacular sermons in Italy? 2. Which biblical text was actually being cited in these quotations? In order to try to answer these questions I have gathered a corpus of around fifty manuscripts of Italian origin containing Latin *sermones de tempore* or *de sanctis* composed by Italian preachers, educated in Paris, in Italian *Studia*, or in chapter schools that were active in Italy from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Most of them belonged to the

<sup>38</sup> Nicole Bériou, "La reportation des sermons parisiens à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989), 87–123, at p. 88; Delcorno, "La predicazione volgare", pp. 93–96.

<sup>39</sup> Jacqueline Hamesse, "La méthode de travail des reportateurs", *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989), 51–61, at pp. 57–58.

<sup>40</sup> The *corpus* examined comprises the following items: Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, MSS 457, 465, 472, 505, 529, 542, 585, 635; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, MSS A 62, A 216; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MSS 1683, 12146; Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS C.VII.14; Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, MS D.XX.4; Laur., MSS Plut.18.22, 21.22, Plut. 33 sin. 1; BNC, MSS Conventi Soppressi A.4.857, C.4.1668, C.7.236, C.7.2867, E.6.1017, F.3.445, G.7.1464, J.I.41, J.II.40, J.8.39; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 428; Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, MS AD.XIII.33; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, MSS 8.AA.17, 8.A.18; Padua, Biblioteca

mendicant orders or to the secular clergy, but at least one of these was composed by a layman.<sup>41</sup>

The manuscripts examined are all small in format, modest but extremely functional for everyday personal use. The scripts adopted are rapid *textuales* or competent cursives. Only in very rare cases are the manuscripts direct witnesses of the authors' concerns and way of composing sermons: e.g. the autograph collection of sermons by John of Viterbo (BAV, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, MS D 213),<sup>42</sup> the manuscripts containing sermons by Frederic Visconti (Laur., MS Pluteo 33 sin. 1)<sup>43</sup> or Bartholomew of Vicenza (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS G.6.9.15–17).<sup>44</sup> All other codices in the corpus are rather examples of how sermons were actually circulated, studied and eventually modified by their readers. As a comparison with this homiletic production, I have chosen to peruse the sermons *in adventu Domini* and *super Cantica Canticorum* by the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux (†1153). In this case the manuscripts examined are of a totally different kind: medium or medium-large format, written in formalized Italian *textuales* and dating up to the mid-thirteenth century. The choice of Bernard of Clairvaux ties in with the importance of his works in the twelfth century and later.<sup>45</sup>

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Antoniana, MS 552; Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MSS 1078, 997; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MSS 793, 812, 1520, 1543; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS 17, 60; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MSS F.IX.21, F.IX.26, F.IX.29, F.X.6; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MSS D.V.20, D.VI.1, E.VI.24; Vicenza, Biblioteca Comunale Bertoliana, MSS G.6.9.15–17; BAV, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, MSS D. 213, Vat. lat. 7697.

<sup>41</sup> Authors of the sermons include the Dominicans, Aldobrandinus de' Cavalcanti, Aldobrandinus of Toscanella, Ambrose Sansedoni, Bartholomew of Vicenza, John of San Gimignano, John of Viterbo, and Thomas Aquinas; the Franciscans, Anthony of Padua, Bindus of Siena, Mathew of Aquasparta, Landulphus Caracciolo, Luke of Bitonto Servas Sanctus of Faenza; the Austin Hermits, Augustine of Ancona and Dimaldutius of Forlì, and finally the canon, Fulcus of S. Eufemia in Piacenza, the secular cleric, Frederic Visconti, as well as the lay judge, Albertanus of Brescia.

<sup>42</sup> Jacqueline Hamesse, "Les autographes à l'époque scolastique: Approche terminologique et méthodologique" in *Gli autografi medievali. Problemi paleografici e filologici. Atti del convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini (Erice 25 settembre – 2 ottobre 1990)*, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Pinelli (Spoleto 1994), pp. 179–205, at p. 200, pl. IV.

<sup>43</sup> Nicole Bériou, "Le manuscrit de Florence" in *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise (1253–1277)*, ed. eadem (Rome, 2001), pp. 281–299, at p. 286.

<sup>44</sup> Laura Gaffuri, "Nell' 'officina' del predicatore" in *La predicazione dei frati dalla metà del '200 alla fine del '300. Atti del XXII Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 13–15 ottobre 1994)*, ed. Società internazionale di studi francescani, Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 85–111.

<sup>45</sup> Claudio Leonardi, "Il Vangelo di Francesco e la Bibbia di Antonio" in *Le fonti e la teologia dei Sermoni Antoniani*, ed. Antonino Poppi (Padova, 1982), pp. 299–317, at p. 300.

*Quotation Techniques*

The comparison between Bernard of Clairvaux and later sermons reveals interesting differences in the quotation mechanisms adopted by the various preachers and allows us to trace their evolution. The introduction of the new chapter system was a true milestone and thus the techniques of Bernard of Clairvaux differed greatly from those of Anthony of Padua (†1231), Albertanus of Brescia († after 1253), or Luke of Bitonto (†ca. 1243) and other later preachers. One only needs to turn a few folios of Bernard's sermons to unearth his techniques of biblical quotation. Usually these are extremely short (quotations are reduced to a few and sometimes very abbreviated words) and "implicit," viz. without a precise location in their textual context. Bernard introduces biblical citations via expressions such as "inquit Propheta" ("the Prophet says"), "clamat Apostolus dicens" ("the Apostle calls out"), "scriptum est" ("it is written"), "ait Scriptura" ("the Scriptures say") or "dicitur" ("it is said")<sup>46</sup> Only rarely did Bernard reveal explicitly the book of the Bible in question and never were further indications provided for the section of the book or chapter.<sup>47</sup> Clearly it would have been impossible: a "chapter sensitivity" – so to speak – did not exist as such in his day. Not surprisingly quotations are often imprecise. It is therefore highly probable that he quoted from memory and not from a reference text.<sup>48</sup>

The sermons of Anthony of Padua, which have been described as a mosaic of scriptural texts, demonstrate the friar's great attention to textual accuracy and the identification of his sources.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless Anthony of Padua always identifies quotations by simply noting their biblical book. As much as he might have absorbed the new cultural trends developed in university context, his formation and activity took place in the first third of the thirteenth century, when the new chapter divisions of the Bible

<sup>46</sup> As in Bernard's *Sermo I In adventu Domini* (MS Vat. lat. 670, fol. 5v): "Quod et Apostolus intuens aiebat: 'Quando venit plenitudo temporis misit Deus filium suum'" quoting implicitly Gal 4.4. *Sancti Bernardi Opera IV. Sermones I*, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais (Rome, 1966), p. 168, II.4–6.

<sup>47</sup> As in Bernard's *Sermo I In adventu Domini* (Vat. lat. 670, fol. 3v): "Si propter me tempestas haec orta est" ait Ionas 'tollite me et mittite in mare'" quoting explicitly Jon. 1.12. *Sancti Bernardi Opera IV. Sermones I*, p. 164, II.12–13.

<sup>48</sup> The same techniques are to be found in the works of Fulcus of St. Eufemia in Piacenza, active between 1164 and 1229.

<sup>49</sup> Louis F. Rohr, *The Use of Sacred Scripture in the Sermons of St. Anthony of Padua* (Washington D.C., 1948), pp. 35–36; Beryl Smalley, "The Use of Scripture in St. Anthony's 'Sermones'" in *Le fonti e la teologia dei Sermoni Antoniani*, ed. Antonino Poppi (Padova, 1982), pp. 285–297.

were not as yet widespread. Possibly the same reason stood behind the nature of references in the sermons of the jurist Albertanus of Brescia (a member of the magistrates' corporation in Brescia, active in the first half of the thirteenth century, who possibly studied at the *Studium* in Bologna around 1215–1220 and was inspired by Franciscan spirituality), which do not present the new chapter system. However, unlike Bernard, this author occasionally included a more specific biblical reference. In *Sermo I* (*Sermo factus super illuminatione et super spirituali et corporali refectone et que sunt necessaria in refectone*), for example, he tried to locate the quotation empirically by using this expression: “quia verum est quod beatus Paulus in epistola II ad Corinthios circa medium dixit ‘Oculi autem tristia’” (“because what the blessed Paul said approximately in the middle of 2 Corinthians is true ‘Oculi autem tristia’ [2 Cor. 7.10]”).<sup>50</sup>

The quotation techniques evident in the rest of the sermons analyzed differ considerably from their earlier counterparts. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards preachers and readers of the sermon collections studied here attended universities or convent schools and were accustomed to quoting biblical texts by book and chapter (written in Roman or Arabic numerals). In some cases they could also locate the precise position of the quotation in the chapter by employing the *a-g* sub-division. Book, chapter and section identification could all be present *ab origine* or added successively to the sermon's text according to the needs of readers.

A few examples may illustrate this point and show the variety of quotation techniques witnessed by existing manuscripts and subsequent adaptations. The first group (group A) is composed of sermons whose texts indicate both book and chapter (e.g. the sermons by Aldobrandinus de'Cavalcanti in Assisi 465; by Dimalduti of Forlì in Laur. Plut. 21.22 [fig. 10.2]; and by Landulphus Caracciolo in Assisi 542). The second group (group B) is that of the sermons bearing indications of book, chapter and sub-division (e.g. the manuscripts that can be connected to Frederic Visconti, Laur. Plut. 33 sin.1 [fig. 10.3], and Bartholomew of Vicenza, Vicenza, MS G.6.9.15–17). A related subgroup is that of sermons where chapter and sub-divisions (Torino, MS D.V.20 containing Anthony of Padua [fig. 10.4]) or just sub-divisions (Assisi 505 containing Luke of Bitonto) have been added by a later reader.

<sup>50</sup> Gregory W. Ahlquist, *The Four Sermons of Albertanus of Brescia: An Edition*, MA Diss. Syracuse, 1997 partially accessible at <http://freespace.virgin.net/angus.graham/Albertano.htm> (consulted 18 August 2011). See also Vat. lat. 991 fol. 7vb.

vi. geneza. Virore q̄ maxie aiam homis indisponeat ad  
 suscipiendū dñm nasciturū 2 eadem peccā magis opposita  
 dignoscuntur. Et finis ē peccati offensionis q̄ nō cū dicitur  
 non in oculibz. 2<sup>m</sup> peccati fornicationis q̄ nō cū adu-  
 gatur et in pudiciss. tūc ē peccati sup̄flue comestione  
 qd̄ notatur cū adiectibz. nō in comestibz. quia est  
 peccati minie potationis q̄ insinuat cū subdī 2 inebrie-  
 tationibz. Quia ē uia sup̄flue q̄ accenditur cū additur  
 nō in contempione. 6<sup>m</sup> ē uia inuidie q̄ hētur cū sub-  
 mpetitur 2 emulatur. // Circa p̄m nō op̄abile ip̄e 2 lecty  
 ferat iux illud ps̄. 2. ascendit leo in cubi suo. Et iō dicitur  
 ter per oile 2 ap̄ phylz peccā in p̄a 2 offensionis p̄p̄m  
 intellē debent q̄ ualde potuendū est cū in ip̄a dñi plūm  
 sit exosum nam p̄m istud ē illud q̄ p̄ma magnitudine  
 peccata ad dñm de t̄ra d̄r exēlāt. Sen. ē. vox sanguis  
 fuit cui clamat adme de t̄ra. uia aut dñs ad cūm q̄  
 offēditur p̄m suū. Exo. 3. Clamor filiorū isrl̄ uenit cora-  
 me. Clamabant autē filij isrl̄ p̄ offensionē. quas cor p̄ba-  
 ras offēdebat. Est 5<sup>a</sup> h̄ac p̄m ināle q̄ homo s̄ sang-  
 nem proximi sui. sic facit 2 cum p̄ calūpniā offēdit  
 dñm. p̄ma rabies ista sanguis letitū 2 h̄ ē abiecto h̄oie  
 in siluē al̄ p̄siluē. leo leoni nō nocet nec lūp̄ lūpum  
 ledit. Vnde q̄ canes s̄ h̄oies quia aduēce certant. Et  
 licet om̄ tēpore hoc uicū tamq̄ dñi iritans ut pote  
 ad ip̄m de t̄ra clamas: tamq̄ in nāle potuendū sic  
 tū h̄ac q̄zē est id̄ p̄lūat. 2 relinquendū quo illū nascitur  
 p̄stolamul. qui ad h̄ ip̄m sp̄aliter uenit ut offēssus eri-  
 perat de tyrannia p̄uēte. ps̄. 62. Misit me dñs 2 sp̄us  
 eius ut mederer cont̄as corde ibidem 2 h̄itabit iux  
 cū agno lūpus ouis 2 leo simul morabatur 2 puer per-  
 uis minabit eos. nō nocebunt neq̄ occident in om̄is  
 mōre s̄m meo. Ergo cū natiuitas 2 quā expectat ad h̄  
 ordinetur ut offēssus libentur 2 magni 2 p̄u aduēce p̄dē  
 tū uideat natiuitate dei uelle euacuare 2 suis b̄n̄ficiis

Figure 10.2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Pluteo 21.22, fol. 4v.



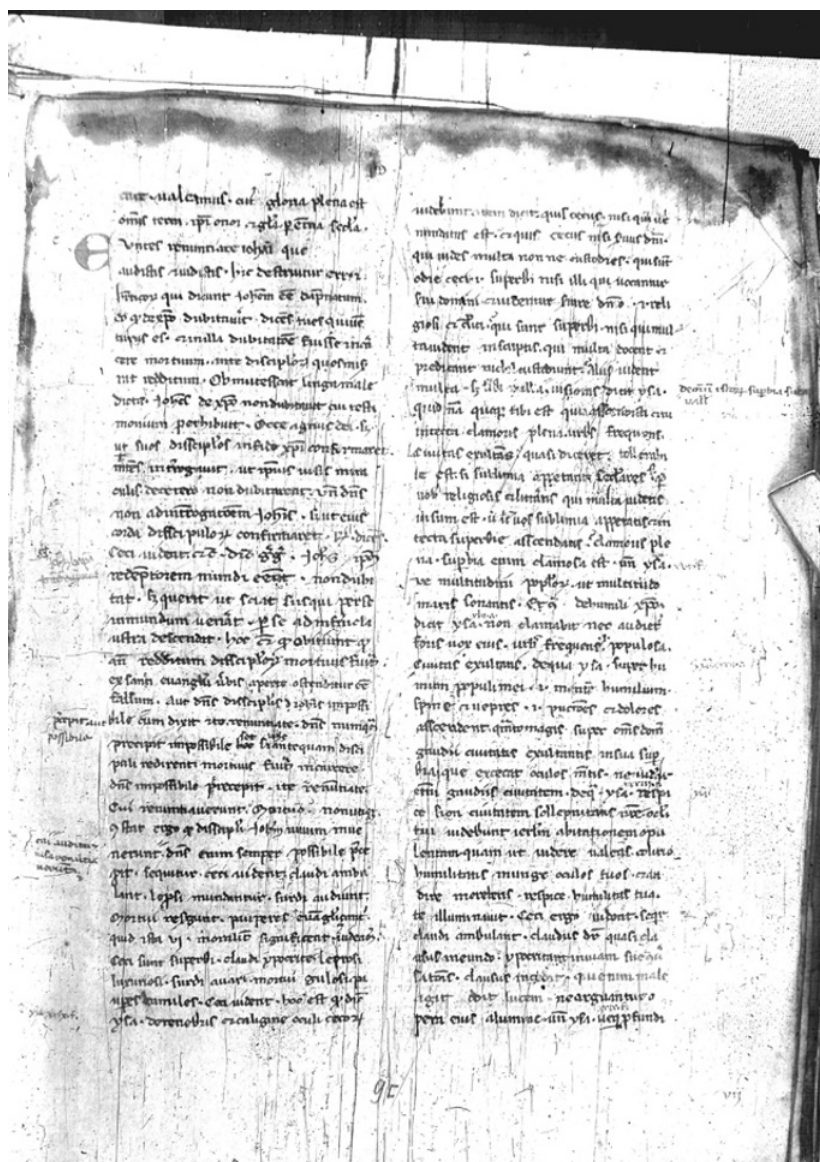


Figure 10.4. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS D.V.20, fol. 9r.



Roman ones are used for the partitions of the text (*divisiones* etc.). This is far from a uniform practice, as exactly the opposite happens in another manuscript of Aldobrandinus of Toscanella's works in BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi J.8.39. Between the two groups, it is the first (Group A) to which most collections belong. Sermon collections referring to book, chapter and sub-division are rare in the period under investigation. This is in fact unsurprising: in contemporary Bibles from Italy as well, only an extremely small fraction contain the marginal sub-division alongside the modern chapter division.

The most accurate biblical reference appears in two of the three sermon collection manuscripts of the corpus which were produced by their respective authors or their immediate circle, the sermon collections of Frederic Visconti and Bartholomew of Vicenza. These codices are extremely sophisticated tools, clearly intended for publication and offering keys that allow full exploitation of the contents provided. Nicole Bériou's study of Frederic Visconti's sermons highlights this point as she notes that, although being founded on an actual preaching experience, Visconti's collection is first of all a tool, providing Visconti himself, as well as others, with the necessary material for the production of new sermons. Accordingly, the collection abounds in advice, references to other sermons, references to sources, subjects discussed, *auctoritates* and *exempla*.<sup>51</sup>

Vernacular sermon production provides a slightly different picture. More than 700 sermons by the Dominican Jordan of Pisa, preached in Florence and Pisa in the years 1302–1309, represent an early and unique example of Italian vernacular sermon production in the fourteenth century.<sup>52</sup> Jordan addressed the laity (city dwellers, mostly merchants) and decided to transpose – with the enthusiastic self-consciousness of a pioneer – the concepts of Latin and scholastic Christian theology into forms that could be more easily accessible to the world of vernacular-speaking merchants.<sup>53</sup> The contents and style of his sermons have been thoroughly analyzed by the recent editors of their *reportationes*.<sup>54</sup> Here it

<sup>51</sup> Nicole Bériou, "La constitution du recueil des sermons de Federico Visconti" in *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise (1253–1277)*, ed. eadem (Rome, 2001), pp. 75–91, at pp. 82–83.

<sup>52</sup> Carlo Delcorno, "La predicazione volgare", p. 83.

<sup>53</sup> Carlo Delcorno, "Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps Modernes* 89 (1977), 679–689, at p. 684–685.

<sup>54</sup> Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino 1305–1306*, ed. Carlo Delcorno (Florence, 1974); Carlo Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence, 1975);



will suffice to examine how he (or, rather, his *reportatores*) actually quoted Scripture. Generally, there is no consistency in the quotation technique used, not even in the same sermon: in some cases, biblical citations are “implicit,” without being located in their textual context; in others, they are a little more “explicit” inasmuch as they name a specific book; in no case is reference made to chapter divisions.

The situation changed slightly in the later vernacular sermons of Bernardine of Siena. In the sermons he preached in Siena in 1427, biblical citations can appear: 1. with no indication of context; 2. with just an indication of the biblical book; 3. with an indication of both book and chapter.<sup>55</sup> A century had passed between the activity of Jordan and Bernardine, and the differences in their reported sermons are revealing. Bernardine’s vernacular sermons are far more refined and complex, both stylistically and doctrinally, than those of Jordan of Pisa; and the lay public who listened to them was also different – in some cases the listeners and *reportatores* of Bernardine were quite literate and accustomed to switching from vernacular to Latin when writing.<sup>56</sup> The presence of book and chapter references corresponds to the preacher’s technique and intended audience: Bernardine’s vernacular sermons concur with the greater familiarity Bernardine’s *reportatores* and listeners in general could have had with a Bible that was actually divided according to the modern chapter division.

As noted above, Latin Bibles with the modern chapter divisions became the norm in Italy from the mid-thirteenth century and were commonly used as a system of reference by all professionals of the sacred page; vernacular Bibles, on the other hand, did not comply entirely with such a standard – unnecessary and possibly altogether alien for lay men and women even in the fourteenth century. The only exceptions in this vernacular corpus are all closely connected to mendicant communities and their lay circles, where new ways of approaching the Bible were introduced. This process took some time to materialize, but possibly stood in the background of the knowledge of the modern chapter divisions among Bernardine’s followers.

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Giordano da Pisa, *Sul terzo capitolo del Genesi*, ed. Cristina Marchioni (Florence, 1992); Giordano da Pisa, *Prediche inedite dal ms. Laurenziano Acquisti e doni 290*, ed. Cecilia Iannella (Pisa, 1997).

<sup>55</sup> Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena*, ed. Carlo Delcorno (Milan, 1989).

<sup>56</sup> Carlo Delcorno, “La diffrazione del testo omiletico. Osservazioni sulle doppie ‘reportationes’ delle prediche bernardiniane”, *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989), 241–260, at p. 247.

*The Text Quoted*

The situation that emerges from the analysis of the manuscript witnesses and editions of the Latin sermons by Anthony of Padua, Servas Sanctus, Matthew of Aquasparta, Frederic Visconti and Bartholomew of Vicenza is quite consistent: biblical quotations generally derive from the Vulgate but also from other textual traditions such as the Septuagint, “aliae litterae” or, indirectly, from exegetical tools like the *Glossa ordinaria* as well as the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and other scholastic works. This is not surprising, given the circulation of contemporary collections of textual variants, and the frequent copying of variant readings in the margins of biblical manuscripts and of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

Latin was the language preferred for biblical quotations in the vernacular sermons by Jordan of Pisa and Bernardine of Siena, at least in their recorded versions. In the sermons by Jordan the Latin text is often followed by a free vernacular translation. This habit is not systematic, with some manuscripts including only the Latin, and others only the vernacular. In Bernardine’s sermons as well, Latin quotations are usually followed by an even freer vernacular translation. It may well be that this preference for the Latin can be explained by the friars’ urge to differentiate themselves from heretical preachers who were known to base their sermons on the vernacular Bible and were responsible for spreading an oversimplified and literal exegesis which did not allow for any allegorical interpretations.<sup>57</sup>

## CONCLUSION

From this indirect analysis it is possible to deduce that the Paris Bible, recognizable by one of its most noticeable features, its chapter divisions, left its mark on Latin sermon production in Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth century and to a lesser degree also on fifteenth-century vernacular preaching. I suggest that the reasons for this are self evident: the authors of the Latin sermons read and studied the sacred text, referring constantly to tools that were based on the new system. They were not able to elaborate on Scripture without these divisions; nor could their audiences of fellow religious to whom these sermons were for the most part addressed. In contrast, at least in the first years of vernacular

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<sup>57</sup> Delcorno, “La predicazione volgare”, p. 92.

preaching, these same friars when delivering their sermons to the laity adopted a less scholarly style. With time, though, the audience of the *illiterati* grew more accustomed to the features of the Paris Bible and the new citation techniques that it allowed. Indeed, vernacular Bibles were permeated, although not consistently, by the Parisian model as concerns the sequence of books and, to a far lesser degree, the chapter divisions. Book and chapter references thus made their appearance in vernacular sermons or their *reportationes*. Not surprisingly, in 1471 Niccolò Malerbi's printed vernacular translation of the Bible followed the new chapter division and thus contributed to its definitive acceptance.



# VERNACULAR BIBLE MANUSCRIPTS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY: CULTURAL APPROPRIATION AND TEXTUAL TRANSFORMATION<sup>1</sup>

Sabrina Corbellini

## INTRODUCTION

Between 1378 and 1381 the Florentine merchant, politician and writer Franco Sacchetti (†1400) – most renowned for his short stories collected together in the *Trecentonovelle* – compiled the so-called *Sposizioni di Vangeli* (Expositions of the Gospels), a series of forty-nine meditations on the Gospels for Lent.<sup>2</sup> Starting from the text of the Gospels, which are cited in Latin at the beginning of each meditation, Sacchetti discusses, in Florentine vernacular, moral and theological questions related to the central theme of the day. In the first of his *sposizioni*, Sacchetti starts from Mt 6.16–19 and concentrates on three points from the pericope: *Cum ieiunatis*, *Unge caput* and *Nolite thesaurizare* (“And when you fast”, “anoint [thy] head”, “Lay not up [to yourselves treasures]”). In the discussion of the first point, Sacchetti explains to his intended readers the three reasons for the choice of a period of forty days as preparation for Easter. The first reason lies in the practice of “natural law”, which gives to God a tenth part of everything: as forty days is the tenth part of a year, it is quite normal to dedicate them to God. The second reason is the reference in “the written law” to the forty years of wandering in the desert before the people of Israel entered the Promised Land. The third, noted Sacchetti, is “ne la legge terza de la grazia, ne la quale noi siamo”, and would be referred to as the forty days and forty nights Jesus spent fasting in the desert after being

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a detailed analysis of vernacular Italian Bible manuscripts, studied in the framework of the research project “Holy Writ and Lay Readers. A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages”. This four-year project, which started in October 2008, is funded by the European Research Council and by the University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

<sup>2</sup> The text by Sacchetti is cited from the 1938 edition: Franco Sacchetti, *Le Sposizioni di Vangeli*, in *La battaglia delle belle donne, Le lettere, Le Sposizioni di Vangeli*, ed. Alberto Chiari (Bari, 1938). The edition is based on Sacchetti's autograph in Laur., MS Ashburham 574. The *Sposizioni* are also copied in Florence, BNC, MS II.IV.243 and MS Palatino 205.

baptized.<sup>3</sup> After the description of the historical background of Lent, Sacchetti emphasizes the importance of fasting as an instrument of purification from sin and from worldly preoccupations – while abstaining from eating, the believers could exercise a more general practice of virtues.

In his discussion of the second point, *Unge caput*, Sacchetti puts the accent on the importance of the sacraments, which are represented by the oil used for the sacrament of baptism and the anointment of the sick. Sacchetti continues with the explanation of the passage *Nolite thesaurizare*, where he invites his readers to choose eternal riches rather than concentrating on ephemeral affairs and success. He also criticizes the practice of sponsoring cycles of frescos in churches, where the only desire was to find a way of displaying the coat of arms of the generous donor. Exhibiting status would, he writes, only lead to worldly recognition, with no positive influence on the attainment of eternal salvation.<sup>4</sup>

The reference to frescos and painting is particularly interesting, as Sacchetti was involved in the design of the iconographic programme of Orsanmichele in 1398, the church to which one of the famous Florentine *laudesi* companies belonged.<sup>5</sup> Sacchetti, office holder of the company, planned a painting in which the most important characters from the three ages of the world would be depicted, *ante legem*, *sub lege* and *sub gratia*, as well as episodes from the life of Mary.<sup>6</sup> He also completed a translation of the prayer *Stabat mater dolorosa* for the same church, which was placed behind the altar of St Anne.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> “Is written in the third law of God’s grace, where we are living at this moment”, Sacchetti, *Le Sposizioni di Vangeli*, p. 115, lines 10–12.

<sup>4</sup> Sacchetti, *Le Sposizioni di Vangeli*, pp. 116–118.

<sup>5</sup> A *laudesi* company was a devotional confraternity whose members were asked at set times to come together to sing the *laude*, hymns to the Virgin Mary. General information on *laudesi* companies in Florence can be found in John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago, 1997), pp. 74–112.

<sup>6</sup> About the iconographic programme designed by Sacchetti, see Werner Cohn, “Franco Sacchetti und das Ikonographische Programm der Gewölbmalereien von Orsanmichele”, *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 8 (1958), 65–77. In a poem which takes the form of a prayer to the Virgin (*Oratio auctoris pro se ipso*), written around 1400, Sacchetti describes the episodes from the life of the Virgin Mary as “each episode of your life | has been made there to demonstrate the glory | your miracles displayed and painted around you.” The text is cited from the translation by Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> Franco Sacchetti gave the following title to his poem: “Orazione volgarizzata per Franco la quale fece Santo Gregorio la quale Franco fece porre dietro a l’altare di San Anna d’Orto San Michele e la è per lettera. E comincia: *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*” (“Prayer translated by Franco and originally written by St Gregory, which Franco placed beside the altar of

Franco Sacchetti was clearly an educated layman. He combined business, diplomatic missions and literary activities with commentaries on the Gospels, theological issues, catechetical discussions and moral interpretations of biblical episodes. Moreover, he was responsible for the organization of religious activities for groups of devout members of the Orsanmichele confraternity. This combination of worldly, civic and religious engagements serves as a starting point for the present analysis of the process of translation from linguistic and cultural points of view, and its connection to the production and the diffusion of vernacular Bible manuscripts in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy.<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact, Franco Sacchetti's literary works and involvement in the decoration and the design of the Orsanmichele church reveal the contiguity between religious and lay elements, and the active contribution of laypeople to the organization of religious life in late medieval Italian towns. Through membership of confraternities and *laudesi* companies, literate members of affluent urban groups could even assume the role of transmitters of religious instruction. Sacchetti wrote in the vernacular for kindred spirits interested in the combination of an active life with religious and moral reflection. In fact, confraternities actively promoted activities which could contribute to the acquisition of religious knowledge by laypeople, such as the organization of cycles of sermons, one of the core activities of Tuscan confraternities. As Henderson has shown, confraternities were important forums for the delivery of sermons by both the clergy and the laity.<sup>9</sup> In particular, mendicant friars were often invited by confraternities to preach, and account books register payments to friars for such services. Members of the confraternities were also invited to "articulate their devotion in the form of orations and homilies".<sup>10</sup>

It cannot be a mere coincidence that Sacchetti chose to write an exposition of the Lenten Gospels. As a focal point of the activities of confraternities, Lent was the central event in medieval religious life, a period of

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St Anne in Orsanmichele in Florence. In the Latin version it begins with *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*). See Franco Sacchetti, *Il libro delle rime*, ed. Franca Brambilla Ageno (Florence, 1990), poem no. 247.

<sup>8</sup> The complete corpus of Italian biblical manuscripts consists of 358 items. The figures are based on the inventory of Italian biblical manuscripts published by M. Chopin, M.T. Dinale and R. Pelosini, "Inventario dei manoscritti", *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 105:2 (1993), 863–886. For a general introduction to vernacular Bible translations in medieval Italy, see *La Bibbia in italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. La Bible Italienne au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, p. 116.

preparation for Easter, probably accompanied by the reading of, and meditation on, the prescribed gospel pericopes.<sup>11</sup> The stress on the Gospels and on the reading of the gospel pericopes according to a liturgical calendar is, moreover, symptomatic of one of the most relevant features of the lay approach to the Holy Writ, which will be discussed in this essay: the selective transmission and discontinuity in the reading of the biblical text in late medieval Italy. Manuscripts rarely contain complete Bibles. They usually only include the Old or New Testament or a selection of books, and in some cases only a selection of pericopes. This process was probably linked to a liturgical or a paraliturgical use of manuscripts, which implies a division of the text, a chronological rearrangement and a process of selective readership of the biblical text.

On this basis, the present essay will analyse the formation of textual clusters in vernacular Bible manuscripts, in which the biblical text is combined with basic catechetical instruction, as well as with moral and didactic treatises. The examination of this combination of biblical, didactic and catechetical material will contribute to the reconstruction of the social and cultural context in which the diffusion of vernacular Bible manuscripts in medieval Italy occurred.

#### VERNACULAR BIBLES IN MEDIEVAL ITALY: CULTURAL DYNAMICS

To the corpus of Italian vernacular Bible codices belong some of the most lavishly illuminated parchment manuscripts from the libraries of Northern Italian noble families such as the Este, the Medici, the Carrara and the Visconti. The Este family, residing originally in Ferrara and later in Modena, owned two fifteenth-century vernacular manuscripts containing the Italian text of the Old Testament<sup>12</sup> and of a *Fioreto de la Biblia*,<sup>13</sup> in addition to a *Bible historiale* in French and the famous *Bibia bela* in Latin, owned by Duke Borso d'Este (copied and illuminated between 1455 and 1461).<sup>14</sup> Some of the codices copied for the Medici family, in particular for

<sup>11</sup> On the importance of Lent in the religious and social life of late medieval Florence, see Giovanni Ciappelli, *Carnevale e Quaresima. Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Rome, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1552–1553.

<sup>13</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 1554.

<sup>14</sup> The *Bibia bela*, the beautiful Bible, is now in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS V.G.12. On their *Bible historiale* see Guy Lobrichon's essay in this volume.



Lucrezia Tornabuoni (†1482),<sup>15</sup> such as BNC, MS Magl. VII. 38 and Lyon, BM, MSS 1367–1368, are richly illuminated parchment manuscripts written in humanistic bookhands, which can be linked to a clear elite group of readers with a refined aesthetic approach to books.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, the late fourteenth-century *Bibbia Istoriata Padovana*, written in Padua during the reign of the Carrara family, includes a rich programme of illumination (870 illustrations of episodes from the Bible), which is definitely not the standard in vernacular Bible manuscripts circulating in late medieval Italy.<sup>17</sup> Bianca Maria Visconti (†1468), wife of Francesco Sforza and from 1450 duchess of Milan, received as a gift from her uncle Andrioto del Maino, a luxurious manuscript containing a Gospel lectionary with commentary and the explanation of the Pater Noster. A golden initial shines on the opening page, accompanied by the coat of arms of the Visconti with two angels in a rocky landscape.<sup>18</sup>

In spite of the presence of these luxury manuscripts, a relative high number of manuscripts from the corpus are written on paper, in *mercantesca* (or other cursive writings) and are characterized by the nearly complete absence of illumination and illustration. *Mercantesca*, a cursive script which was used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Northern Italian and Tuscan towns in particular, provides important information on the identity of scribes. *Mercantesca* was utilized in particular by a new group of *scribentes*, such as merchants, bankers and artisans, who were users of written forms of the vernacular. This type of writing was initially used exclusively in registers, administration, and private and commercial letters, but was also rapidly applied in the copying of vernacular literary manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Lucrezia Tornabuoni married Piero de' Medici in 1444 and was the mother of Lorenzo de' Medici.

<sup>16</sup> On these manuscripts see also Sabina Magrini's essay in this volume.

<sup>17</sup> The manuscript of the *Bibbia Istoriata Padovana* has been divided in two parts. The volume containing the biblical books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua is BL, MS Add. 15277. Genesis and Ruth are in the library of the Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, MS 212. On the historiated Bible, see Lorenzo Tomasini, "La cultura testuale volgare nella Padova trecentesca", *Textual Cultures* 4:1 (2009), 84–112. See also, Aulo Donadello, "Nuove note linguistiche sulla Bibbia Istoriata Padovana" in *La cultura volgare padovana nell'età del Petrarca*, ed. Furio Brugnolo and Zeno Lorenzo Ferlato (Padua, 2006), pp. 103–173, and Sabina Magrini's essay in this volume.

<sup>18</sup> KBR, MS 474 (10757).

<sup>19</sup> This peculiarity of Italian biblical manuscripts becomes particularly clear when the corpus is studied in a European perspective. For the French situation see Margriet Hoogvliet's and Guy Lobrichon's essays in this volume. For a thorough description of the first phases of *mercantesca*, see Irene Ceccherini, "La genesi della scrittura mercantesca"

Users of *mercantesca* wrote for personal use or for a small group, quite often family members or employees of a small commercial enterprise. Rosso d'Antonio, the scribe of BNC, MS Magl. XXI 155,<sup>20</sup> copied his manuscript in the *bottega* of "Jacopo di Bernardo di Jacopo di ser Francesco Ciai e compagni ritagliatori in calimala" (cloth retailers).<sup>21</sup> BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi B.7.1146 was copied by three members of the same family. On the flyleaf the scribe takes care to explain to the users of the manuscript that:

Questo libro è di Giovanni del Nero di Stefano d'Alessandro Cambi degli Oportuni di Terma scritto per mano del Nero suo padre una parte e l'altra per mano di Marco suo fratello e l'altra del detto Giovanni et però chi l'acatta renda servigio a chi in esso s'è afaticato a scriverlo. In principio di questo libro è di mano di Marcho del Nero Chambi i nel mezzo e salmi penitenziali di mano di Nero nostro padre i nel fine una confessione del Reverendo maestro S. Antonino arcivescovo fiorentino scritta per Giovanni Chanbi per anno 1475 di Ciertaldo essendovi vichario detto Nero di Chambi suo padre M cccc lxx v.<sup>22</sup>

Scribes and owners of manuscripts can also be linked by personal *amicitia* relationships, as explicitly mentioned in the colophons of Laur., MS Ashburnham 598 (Penitential psalms: "Questo libro libro è di Jacopo di Lucha de' Bardi iscritto di mano di Bernardo Peruzzi amicho mio singularissimo").<sup>23</sup> The references to families, groups and commercial activities in

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in *Régionalisme et internationalisme. Problèmes de Paléographie et de Codicologie du Moyen Âge. Actes du XVe Colloque du Comité International de Paléographie Latine* (Vienna, 13–17 September, 2005), ed. Otto Kresten and Franz Lackner, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse (Vienna, 2008), pp. 123–137.

<sup>20</sup> The manuscript contains the Penitential Psalms, together with didactic treatises.

<sup>21</sup> BNC, MS Magl. XXI 155, fol. 155r.

<sup>22</sup> "This book is owned by Giovanni del Nero di Stefano d'Alessandro Cambi degli Oportuni di Terma. One part was written by his father Nero, the second by his brother Marco and the third by himself, Giovanni. Whoever finds or buys the book should be thankful to the one who has taken the trouble to copy it. The first part is by Marco, the central part and the Penitential Psalms are written by our father and at the end the Confession by St Antonino, archbishop of Florence, is in Giovanni's hand in the year 1475 in Certaldo, where his father Nero was appointed as a *vicario*." Florence, BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi, B.7.1146, flyleaf.

<sup>23</sup> "This book is owned by Jacopo di Lucha de' Bardi and was handwritten by Bernardo Peruzzi, my beloved friend", fol. 63v. On the Bardi and Peruzzi families, see Edwin S. Hunt and James M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200–1550* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 102–119 ("The Emergence of the Supercompanies"). The importance of friendships and partnerships in late medieval Florence is discussed in John F. Padgett and Paul D. McLean, "Organizational Invention and Elite Transformation: The Birth of Partnership Systems in Renaissance Florence", *The American Journal of Sociology* 111 (2006), 1463–1568.

the colophons of vernacular Bible manuscripts also imply the presence of private and semi-private networks which supported the exchange of texts and manuscripts. Francesco di Bernardo, owner of Laur., MS Acquisti e Doni 320 (Gospel Harmony) wrote on the flyleaf: “Questo libro è di Francesco di Bernardo [...] tu che l’achatti prieghoti quando l’ài le[...] me lo rendi acciò che io posso prestare a un altro” (“This book is owned by Francesco di Bernardo. If you find it, please give it back after reading. I’ll then be able to lend the book to someone else”). The scribe of Laur., MS Ashburnham 545 (Gospels with comments by Simone da Cascia), Agnolo Chicco Pepi, wrote in his colophon: “Prendetemi e leggetemi e poscia rendetemi e se tu piacessi alchuna cho[...] uno però ch’ io sono donato a uno che mi à chopiato Amen O tu chemmi leggi fa che non mi chessi però ch’ io fosso donato a uno che m’ à copiato prendetemi e leggetemi epposcia rendetemi e settu piacessi ad alchuno chopiesene uno Amen”.<sup>24</sup>

Manuscripts could also be bought second-hand. Barone Baroni, citizen of Florence, announced on the first folio of his manuscript that he bought his Gospels in the shop of Giacomo “rigattiere e sensale” (secondhand retailer) on 18 November 1507.<sup>25</sup> Giovanni di Domenico, one of the owners of BNC, MS II.X.39 (Gospel Harmony, Epistles and Book of Revelation), announces that “Io Giovanni di Domenicho ò venduto questo libro da Domenicho da Prato [...] maio 1472” (“I, Giovanni di Domenico, sold the book to Domenico da Prato in the month of May 1472”).

Networks of book exchange, primarily formed by laypeople, could also include religious institutions, in particular religious orders strictly connected to the urban laity, such as the Mendicants and the so-called *Yesuati*.<sup>26</sup> It was, for example, a common practice adopted by pious

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For other examples of mentions of *amicitia* relationships, see Florence, BNC, MS II.X.62 (“[this book belongs] to Giuliano and to his friends”) Florence, BNC, MS II.XI.21 (“This book belongs to Nardo di [...] Cavalcanti and to his friends”).

<sup>24</sup> “Take me [the book], read me and then give me back [...]. If you find something of interest, make a copy of it, because I was given to the one who copied me”, fol. 178r. The scribe reiterates the message from the book to the reader twice in the original colophon.

<sup>25</sup> Laur., MS Pl. 89 sup 14, fol. 1r.

<sup>26</sup> Christopher Kleinhenz, ed., *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 2000), pp. 239–240. The *Yesuati* were a lay congregation devoted to preaching, penance and service to the poor and sick. This congregation was founded by Giovanni Colombini (†1367). In 1355, Colombini, then a prominent merchant in Siena, had a religious experience that led him to divide his wealth with his wife, give his own share to charity and dedicate his life to doing penance and serving the sick and the poor. He soon attracted a small band of followers. Around 1364, Colombini decided to organize his growing group of followers into a lay congregation following the rule of Saint Benedict. Pope Urban V granted the approval of the rule of the *Yesuati* a few weeks before Colombini’s death.

laypeople to bequeath manuscripts to religious institutions, as in the case of Laur., MS Redi 127 (Epistles, Acts of the Apostles and Book of Revelation) copied by Nicolò di Francesco di Domenico Corsi between 1460 and 1462 and then owned by the *Yesuati*: “Questo libro è di Nicholò di Francescho Corsi; Questo libro è dei frati Jesuati abitanti a sancto Giusto fuori della porta a Pinti di Firenze sia righuardato e renduto per charità”<sup>27</sup> and of the late fourteenth-century BNC, MS Conventi Soppressi C.3.626 (Old Testament), copied by the Florentine Gozzo di Nuccino Gozzi and brought to the library of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella. The late fifteenth-century Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1338, a miscellany containing the Seven Penitential Psalms, was copied by one of the nuns of the Brigittine monastery of the Paradiso near Florence and was successively owned by a number of laypeople, as becomes clear from the list of names on the last folio of the manuscript.

The strict relationship between devoted laity and members of religious orders becomes clearer to understand when we consider late medieval private documents (letters, diaries, autobiographical notes) such as the famous correspondence between the merchant Francesco Datini (†1410) and the notary Lapo Mazzei (†1412). In their letters, Datini and Mazzei extensively discuss questions regarding the importance of reading religious treatises, of knowing the Bible in detail and of buying and copying manuscripts for the sake of their own and their relatives’ souls. Both Datini and Mazzei were in contact with the most important religious figures of their time: Giovanni delle Celle (†1396, a monk of Vallombrosa and spiritual advisor to several Florentine citizens), the Pisan Dominican nun Chiara Gambacorta (†1420) and the Dominican preacher Giovanni Dominici (†1419).<sup>28</sup>

These contacts could also stimulate and facilitate the purchase of books. For example, the Franciscan monk, Brother Matteo di Pioppi, wrote a letter to Datini on 6 January 1398 about the vernacular Gospels which he had been asked to copy for Datini’s wife Margherita.<sup>29</sup> This manuscript

<sup>27</sup> “This book belongs to Nicholò di Francesco Corsi; this book belongs to the brothers Yesuati living in San Giusto outside the Pinti Gate in Florence. Please use it with care and return it”, fol. IVr.

<sup>28</sup> Lapo Mazzei, *Lettere di un notaro a un mercante del secolo XIV con altre lettere e documenti*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1880), *passim*. On the importance of these sacred networks, see Sabrina Corbellini, “Instructing the Soul, Feeding the Spirit and Awakening the Passion: Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe”, in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden, 2012), pp. 15–39.

<sup>29</sup> Simona Brambilla, “Libro di dio e dell’anima certamente’. Francesco Datini fra spiritualità e commercio librario” in *L’antico e le moderne carte. Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Billanovich*, ed. Antonio Manfredi and Carla Maria Monti (Rome-Padua, 2007), pp. 189–246, at p. 205.

was not the only vernacular Bible text circulating in Datini's home, as Lapo Mazzei, in a letter written between 22 January and 16 March 1395, had already mentioned sending to Francesco "il libro, ricco e bello, delle Pistole di San Paolo [...] El libro de' vangeli".<sup>30</sup> It is known that this "book of Gospels" had been bought in the shop of the Florentine *cartolaio* Jacopo di Bino, a bookseller working for private clients such as Lapo and Francesco but also for Florentine religious institutions such as the Benedictine Badia and the Brigittine Paradiso monastery.<sup>31</sup>

Confraternities were also important places of exchange between lay-people and members of religious orders, as well as networks for the circulation of books. The research corpus contains at least five vernacular Bible manuscripts which include specific references to confraternities: that of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena (Siena, Biblioteca degli Intronati, MSS I.V.9, F.III.4 and I.V.5), of the Battuti of Marano (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, MS 56) and the Compagnia dei Disciplinati of St Bernardino in Milan (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 540).<sup>32</sup> Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS F. III. 4, containing a translation of the Old Testament, was bequeathed in 1430 to the Disciplinati of Santa Maria della Scala by a member of the confraternity, Giovanni di Tofano, on condition that the manuscript would not be sold nor removed from the confraternity.<sup>33</sup> In the library of the Sienese confraternity, the manuscripts were "legati in catene di ferro (sopra) legii portabili di legno" ("fixed to the portable wooden lectern by iron chains") and at the disposal of all members of the confraternity, artisans and members of the civic bourgeoisie.<sup>34</sup> Together with these three manuscripts, twelve other books were kept in the confraternity library, "ne la stanza prima de la Compagnia a piei la scala" ("in the room next to the stairs"). The brothers had access to manuscripts containing texts on the Passion of Christ (to be used during the meditation), to the

<sup>30</sup> "Beautiful book, richly illustrated, containing the letters of Saint Paul [...] the book of the Gospels", Brambilla, "Libro di dio", p. 207. In the letters, the books of the Gospels are specifically described as "in the vernacular."

<sup>31</sup> Brambilla, "Libro di dio", p. 243.

<sup>32</sup> For an extensive study of the role of confraternities in the diffusion of vernacular Bible manuscripts, see Sabrina Corbellini, "The Plea for Lay Bibles in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Tuscany: The Role of Confraternities" in *Faith's Boundaries. Laity and Clergy in Early Modern Confraternities*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra, Adriano Prosperi and Stefania Pastore (Turnhout, forthcoming).

<sup>33</sup> Roberta Manetti and Giancarlo Savino, "I libri dei Disciplinati di Santa Maria della Scala di Siena", *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria* 97 (1990), 122–192, at p. 191.

<sup>34</sup> Manetti and Savino, "Libri dei Disciplinati", p. 158.

translation of the *Lives of the Fathers* and to Domenico Cavalca's *Specchio della Croce*.<sup>35</sup>

The results of the analysis of manuscripts and in particular of references to scribes and owners, together with the references in the letters of Datini and Mazzei show that laypeople, the vernacular literate public, were familiar with the text of the vernacular Bible. This conclusion is supported by the work of Christian Bec and Armando Verde on book ownership among Florentine citizens in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>36</sup> and by the preliminary study of published inventories and book lists gathered by the members of the RICABIM research project (*Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali dal secolo VI al 1520*), a digitalization of nearly 600 inventories from medieval Italy.<sup>37</sup> These studies confirm that vernacular Bibles, in particular the Gospels, were a constant feature in the libraries of late medieval laypeople. This was true throughout Italy, not only in towns and regions known for their high literacy levels such as Florence and Tuscany. Italian lay readers from Friuli to Sicily had manuscripts and early printed texts with vernacular biblical translations at their disposal.<sup>38</sup>

Bec and Verde based their studies on the inventories of the Office Wards, or *Magistrato dei Pupilli*. This office functioned to protect the interests of dependant minors whose family members had died intestate. Officials were charged with protecting their estates and identifying with precision the kind of movable and immovable goods found in the domestic environment at the time of death. For the years 1431–1432, for example, the inventories of the *Magistrato* register ten estates containing books, nine of which have one or more biblical manuscripts. Cases in point occur amongst the lists of books owned by Bartolomeo di Giovanni de' Rossi and Giovanni di Bartolomeo Moregli. Bartolomeo left fourteen books, including a manuscript with the works of Albertanus of Brescia, sermons, the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine and the Gospels, all specifically described as *in*

<sup>35</sup> Manetti and Savino, "Libri dei Disciplinati", pp. 158–159.

<sup>36</sup> Christian Bec, *Les livres des Florentins (1413–1608)* (Florence, 1984), *passim*; Armando F. Verde, *Libri fra le pareti domestiche. Una necessaria appendice a 'Lo Studio Fiorentino' 1473–1503* (Pistoia, 1987), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> The digitalized inventories can be consulted online at [www.internetculturale.it](http://www.internetculturale.it) (consulted 8 August 2011). The first printed volume of the *Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali, Toscana*, ed. Giovanni Fiesoli and Elena Somigli (Florence, 2009) contains 1733 entries.

<sup>38</sup> On Friuli, see e.g. Ceare Scalón, *Produzione e fruizione del libro nel basso medioevo: il caso Friuli* (Padua, 1995). For Sicily, Henri Bresc, *Libre et société en Sicile (1299–1499)* (Palermo, 1971).

*volgare* (in the vernacular). Giovanni left a smaller library (five books), but with a strong religious character – the *Fioretti* of St Francis, a book of the Gospels, the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine, an Exposition of the Gospels and a booklet with the *Fioretti della Bibbia*, all in the vernacular.<sup>39</sup>

#### TEXTUAL FRAGMENTATION AND SELECTIVE READING

As mentioned in the introduction, Italian vernacular biblical manuscripts rarely include a complete Bible; among the few exceptions are BnF, MSS It. 1 and 2, and Lyon, BM, MSS 1367–1368. In the near absence of complete Bibles, the corpus is characterized by a strong stress on the New Testament and in particular on the text of the Gospels, presented in the traditional sequence of the Four Evangelists (at least thirty-five manuscripts),<sup>40</sup> in a harmonized version (thirty-three manuscripts),<sup>41</sup> in a version accompanied by the commentary of the Augustinian friar Simone Fidati da Cascia (†1348) and translated into Italian by his disciple Giovanni da Salerno (†1388; nineteen manuscripts),<sup>42</sup> and in the liturgical form of a (Gospel) Lectionary (forty-five manuscripts). The Psalms and in particular the seven Penitential Psalms also hold an important position in the corpus (with a total of sixty manuscripts).

Both the gospel harmony, in which the texts of the Four Gospels are rearranged in chronological order to avoid duplications and contradictions, and the work by Simone da Cascia have one pivotal aim: to make access to the Scriptures and in particular to the life of Christ easier and less “demanding” for the “simple souls” of lay readers. The anonymous translator of the gospel harmony justifies his translation by declaring that

<sup>39</sup> Bec, *Les livres des Florentins*, pp. 175–178, in particular p. 176.

<sup>40</sup> The number includes the series of the Four Gospels, combinations of two or three Gospels and copies of one of the Gospels.

<sup>41</sup> On Italian gospel harmonies, see Sabrina Corbellini, “Retelling the Bible in Medieval Italy: The Case of the Italian Gospel Harmonies” in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. Lucie Doležalová and Tomas Visi (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 213–228. For a more general discussion of gospel harmonies, see Ulrich B. Schmid, “In Search of Tatian's Diatessaron in the West”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 57 (2003), 176–199 and Francesca Gambino, “Un Diatessaron in terzine dantesche di fine Trecento” in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, ed. Francesco Stella (Florence, 2001), pp. 537–580.

<sup>42</sup> On the commentaries to the Gospels by Simone da Cascia, see Willigis Eckerman, “Die Harmonisierungstendenzen im Evangelienkommentar des Simon Fidati von Cascia OESA (c.1295–1348)” in *Evangelienharmonien des Mittelalters*, ed. Christoph Burger, August den Hollander and Ulrich Schmid (Assen, 2004), pp. 111–122.

it is particularly complex to read four different books and to bring into line their contents, and that the gospel harmony thus offers to all Christians the opportunity to follow Christ's life without putting forth a "painstaking intellectual effort".<sup>43</sup> In the prologue to his translation, Giovanni da Salerno, translator of Simone da Cascia's work (ca. 1360), indicates that:

E veracemente a me pare che questa esposizione e dichiarazione del santo Evangelio di Cristo, nostro Salvatore, possa essere chiamata e detta tesoro de' poveri. Tesoro, dico, di lume, tesoro di cibi di vita vera, tesoro di anime contra ogni avversario e nemico, tesoro di celestiali virtudi, tesoro, anco dico, de' peri, cioè d'umili e mansueti, a li quali solamente è aperto questo tesoro, cioè la intelligenza de la sancta scrittura.<sup>44</sup>

The paupers, the *pauperes spiritus* and *pauperes Christi*, are not only those who belong to the lower social classes but, according to the interpretation of Giovanni da Salerno, also those who do not have access to Latinate knowledge.<sup>45</sup>

The translation of the Gospels becomes an educational tool for these *pauperes*, the "simple souls" who are encouraged to read the text of the Bible, in particular the Gospels, to discover the principles of their faith and thus be able to follow the example of Christ. "Cristo è la porta, e per esso Cristo si vole entrare per Cristo, è seguitare Cristo, non in miracolo, ma in mansuetudine, in umiltà vera [...] et in speranza perfecta", writes the Augustinian Girolamo da Siena (†1420) in his *Adiutorio dei Poveri* (*Aid to the Paupers*, 1387–1388). Girolamo also notes that both the Old and New Testament should be considered as "due braccia di Cristo [...] due testamenti, li quali contengono la eredità eterna, repromissa a tutti i credenti, li quali per adotione son fatti figliuoli di Dio. Questi due testamenti son

<sup>43</sup> The translator explains that the readers would need "faticoso ingegno" ("painstaking intellectual effort") to read the Four Gospels and to distil the description of the life of Christ from them, as they all present separate versions of the gospel narrative ("che l'uno di loro disse una parte et l'altro un' altra"). The text is cited from BAV, MS Ferrajoli 706, fol. 4r.

<sup>44</sup> "The translation, exposition and explanation of the Gospel of Christ, our Saviour, should be called 'Treasure of the Paupers'. Treasure of relief, treasure of true life, treasure for the fight of every soul against enemies, treasure of celestial virtues, treasure for all those who are poor, meek and humble. For them this is treasure, the understanding of the Holy Scriptures." The prologue is cited from Giovanni da Salerno, *Gli evangelii del B. Simone da Cascia esposti in volgare dal suo discepolo Giovanni da Salerno. Opera del secolo XIV*, ed. Nicola Mattioli (Rome, 1902), pp. 4–5, by Isabella Gagliardi, "Secondo che parla la Santa Scriptura". Girolamo da Siena e i suoi testi di 'direzione spirituale' alla fine del Trecento" in *Direzione spirituale tra ortodossia e eresia. Dalle scuole filosofiche antiche al Novecento*, ed. Michela Catto, Isabella Gagliardi and Rosa Maria Parrinello (Brescia, 2002), pp. 117–175, at p. 122, note 14.

<sup>45</sup> Gagliardi, "Secondo che parla la Santa Scriptura", p. 121.



confermati ne la morte di Cristo. E questi sono a noi quasi due ali, de le quali l'una illumina la mente per fede, l'altra per speranza solleva 'l desiderio',<sup>46</sup> but the stress is clearly on the New Testament, on the life of Christ and on the *christiformitas*, not just an imitation but a complete assimilation of the devout soul to Christ.

One of the clearest examples of this process of growth towards *christiformitas* is described in the treatise *L'ordine della vita cristiana* (*The Organization of Christian Life*) by the above-mentioned Simone Fidati, which is often described as the "first Italian Catechism".<sup>47</sup> Simone's authorship of both the *Ordine della vita Cristiana* and one of the most widespread commentaries to the Gospels in late medieval Italy makes his text particularly relevant and shows how the pivotal concept of the "assimilation to Christ" is connected to the reading of the Gospels. Simone Fidati wrote his *Ordine* in Florence in 1333 and his work was disseminated widely in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy.<sup>48</sup> Simone advises his readers to meditate on the life of Christ by focusing on the most relevant episodes of his life. Not only are the Incarnation, birth, death and Resurrection mentioned, but also his tears as a new-born, his breastfeeding by the Virgin Mary and his meals at home with his mother and Joseph, all in chronological order. Every event is also briefly described:

Considera, come ebbe fame et come fue tentato dal nemico più volte et di più cose. Come cominciò ad predicare il vangelo eterno, la via della vera vita, ordinare la scala invisibile delle virtudi, de' comandamenti, de' sacramenti, de' consigli, di passion et di dolore, per la quale scala potessimo salire in cielo et possedere la superna vita. Pensa, come predicoe la volontà del padre, guarie gl'infermi d'ogni stretta infermità, non isdegnando di toccargli.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> "Christ is the door and through Christ you should 'enter into Christ' to be able to follow him, with meekness, humility and perfect hope"; "As Christ's arms, which contain the eternal legacy, promised to all believers, who will become sons of God. These two testaments are confirmed by the death of Christ and can be considered as two wings, one of which enlightens the mind with faith and the other arouses our desire with hope"; Gagliardi, "Secondo che parla la Santa Scriptura", pp. 173–174.

<sup>47</sup> For an overview of literature on Simone Fidati and his treatise, see Giuseppina Battista, "*L'ordine della vita cristiana*: il servizio reciproco per la costruzione della società" in *Simone Fidati da Cascia* OESA, *Un Agostiniano Spirituale tra Medioevo e Umanesimo*, ed. C. Oser-Grote and W. Eckerman (Rome, 2008), pp. 265–295, especially pp. 264–278.

<sup>48</sup> The text of the *Ordine della vita Cristiana* has been recently edited by Willigis Eckermann, O.S.A. See: Simone Fidati de Cassia OESA, *L'ordine della vita cristiana; Tractatus de vita christiana; Epistolae; Laude; Opuscula. Johannis de Salerno* OESA, *Tractatus de vita et moribus fratris Simonis de Cassia*, ed. Willigis Eckerman (Rome, 2006), pp. 4–120.

<sup>49</sup> "Consider how he was hungry and how he was tempted several times by the enemy. How he started to preach the eternal gospel, the path to true life, and to design the ladder of virtues, commandments, sacraments, advice, passion and pain, leading us to eternal life.

The short explanations, which resemble notes to aid the memory, assume that the readers have previous knowledge – either through an aural or a written reception – of the text or narratives of the Gospels. The concise references to various events are probably thus only an instrument to trigger the memory or to lead readers through a selective account of the text of the Gospels. In fact, a further striking features of Italian vernacular Bible manuscripts is the constant presence of paratextual elements such as tables of contents, titles, rubrics and annotations in the margins briefly indicating the contents of the gospel pericope. These paratextual elements, especially in the case of rubrics and titles, likewise fragment the Gospel text, in this case visually, dividing it into a series of episodes which can be read independently of the complete biblical narration.

Strictly linked to the selective-thematic approach to the text is the presence of liturgical reading aids, that is to say of tables, rubrics and marginal notes indicating when a pericope was read according to the liturgical calendar.<sup>50</sup> The importance of this liturgical use of manuscripts, which is evident from the high number of (Gospel) lectionaries, cannot be ignored. As well as the manuscripts which were specifically written for liturgical use, at least thirteen gospel harmonies and the whole corpus of Simone da Cascia's gospel commentaries provide explicit references to their use according to the liturgical calendar. Moreover, the liturgical design of the manuscripts is textually reinforced by the formulas used to introduce liturgical instructions ("questo si legge" or "questo si canta", "this should be read" or "this should be sung"), a vernacular translation of the formulas used in official Latin Lectionaries.<sup>51</sup>

The link with the liturgy evidenced in the layout of the manuscripts raises questions about their use. One possibility is that the vernacular pericope was read before, during or after the official reading of the Gospel by the priest during Mass. The difficulty the laity faced in following the Mass is evident in the proliferation in the late Middle Ages, and in particular in the fifteenth century, of vernacular treatises explaining the most important moments of the celebration, with specific attention being

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Think about how he preached the will of his Father and cured the sick, without being afraid to touch them", Fidati, *Ordine della vita cristiana*, p. 47.

<sup>50</sup> Pericopes can of course be considered as the reproduction in the liturgical calendar *per circulum anni* of Christ's life; see E. Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Age* (Aubier, 2000), p. 102. On the Tables of lections in Wycliffite and Latin Bibles see the articles of Matti Peikola and Laura Light in this volume.

<sup>51</sup> Giuseppe Landotti, *Le traduzioni del messale in lingua italiana anteriori al movimento liturgico moderno. Studio storico* (Rome, 1975), p. 55.

paid to the lections.<sup>52</sup> One of these treatises is the *Colloquio Spirituale* (*Spiritual Conversation*), written at the end of the fourteenth century by the Dominican friar Simone da Cascina (†1420). In a vernacular dialogue between four characters (Simone, a younger friar, Caterina [a nun] and a novice), Simone explains how the greatest spiritual benefit can be gained from the Mass. One of the points he stresses is how to behave during the reading of the Gospel:

Incomincia poi lo Vangelo, lo quale c' inlumina a cognoscere sollicitamente li comandamenti di Cristo, e speditamente aimpierli. Denno gli auditori stare ritti, a significare la prontezza della obbidienza; colla scoperta, che dimostra la solitudine de la mente; chinare un poco il capo, in segno che odeno lo Vangelio di colui il quale per loro, inchinando il capo, rendette lo spirito al Padre.<sup>53</sup>

The Gospels are a pivotal moment in the Mass, and the laity is asked to pay particular attention to their reading. The understanding of the Gospel lection, which was probably read in Latin, would have been enhanced if the laity followed the reading in their own books (possibly vernacular lectionaries or gospel harmonies); only by carefully listening to the Gospels could they understand and follow the example of Christ's life.<sup>54</sup>

Apart from liturgical use, a more private context for these manuscripts can be assumed, for example in the domestic environment, as suggested by the inventories of personal book collections published by Bec and Verde<sup>55</sup> as well as narratives of personal devotion. One of the most poignant descriptions can be found in the diary written by the Florentine merchant Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli (†1444). In some touching pages, he

<sup>52</sup> Mario degli Innocenti, "Testi italiani delle origini sulla devozione alla messa" in *Medioevo e latinità in memoria di Ezio Franceschini*, ed. Annamaria Ambrosioni et al. (Milan, 1993), pp. 163–186.

<sup>53</sup> "And then, the Gospel is read, which gives us the knowledge to understand the commandments of Christ and to follow them. The listeners should stand up, to demonstrate that they are ready to obey; bare head, to show that their minds are ready to receive the Word; and bow their heads lightly to listen to the Gospel of the one who committed his spirit to his Father's hands and then died to save them", Simone da Cascina, *Colloquio spirituale*, ed. F. Dalla Riva (Florence, 1982), 1:83–84. About Simone da Cascina and his literary activities, see Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St Bernardino da Siena* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 42–50.

<sup>54</sup> Agostino Contò and Caterina Crestani, "Un testo quattrocentesco inedito: 'Del modo che si die tenere in chiesia', *Fedeli in Chiesa: Quaderni di Storia Religiosa* 6 (1999), 223–235, at p. 229. See also W. A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and a Literate Layman" in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 398–422, at pp. 420–421.

<sup>55</sup> See note 36.

describes his devotions in honour of his son Alberto, who had died exactly one year earlier at the age of nine. Giovanni describes how, on the first anniversary of Alberto's death, he knelt in his bedroom on his bare knees before the image of a crucified Christ with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist.<sup>56</sup> After declaring his unworthiness as a Christian (and as a father), he prays to the crucified Christ, addressing him directly with Psalms, prayers and *laudae* and asking for the salvation of his son's soul. His invocation is interspersed with specific references to the life of Christ and with the reading of passages from the Gospels. He reads the "Gospel of the Annunciation" (Lk 1.26–38) after referring to the Incarnation, the gospel pericope for Christmas (Lk 2.1–7) after mentioning the birth of Christ, and the "Gospel of Mary Magdalene" (Lk 7.36–50 and John 11) after touching on the resurrection of Lazarus. These three pericopes are followed by a reference to the "holy, cruel, harsh and glorious passion" and by the reading of the narration of the Passion from the Gospels of John and Matthew (John 11; Matthew 26–28). The choice of these passages, a clear example of selective reading, was not accidental, as it mirrors Giovanni's personal experience. The Gospels refer to joy (Incarnation and birth of Christ; the joy at the birth of his eldest son), sickness and death (Lazarus; the deathbed of Alberto) and to suffering (the narration of the Passion; the death of Alberto and the despair of his father). The Holy Writ and the crucified Christ both mirror the physical and spiritual tribulations of a father whose soul is "[crociata] tra mille punte di spiedi".<sup>57</sup>

#### MORAL AND DIDACTIC TREATISES

The fragmentation of the biblical text, which was probably influenced by the private and liturgical use of the codices, is also reflected in the composite character of the manuscripts. The selections from the books of the Bible are very often introduced and followed by moral and didactic treatises, as well as by texts of catechetical instructions. The manuscripts are

<sup>56</sup> This description is based on the edition of Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli's diary in Vittore Branca, ed., *Mercanti scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Milan, 1986), pp. 103–339, esp. 303–311. On this passage, see also Elizabeth Bailey, "Raising the Mind to God: The Sensual Journey of Giovanni Morelli (1371–1444) via Devotional Images", *Speculum* 84:4 (2009), pp. 984–1008. About the presence of religious images in the late medieval household, see Dominique Rigaux, "Les couleurs de la prière: L'image sainte dans la maison à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Religione domestica: Quaderni di Storia Religiosa* 8 (2001), 249–271.

<sup>57</sup> "Transfixed by a thousand arrows", Branca, *Mercanti scrittori*, p. 303.

often miscellanies compiled by non-professional scribes who carefully selected and decided what to include and what to omit. Scribes thus became authors of their own miscellanies, which often contained texts they considered essential to their spiritual and social life. They were agents in a process of cultural appropriation, whereby religious and catechetical material was brought into the world of lay scribes and readers and used as a building block for lay religious identities.<sup>58</sup>

A case in point is Tomaso de' Piero del Pulci, the scribe of BNC, MS II.IV.56, who made explicit mention of the rationale behind his compilation in the text of his manuscript (fol. Ir):

Mcccclxxx a di xv d'aprilè Chome di dio e della vergine madre madona assanta Maria e di tutta la santa chorte di paradiso e di messere santo Giovanni Batista e di tutti i santi e delle sante di dio amen. Qui apresso iscrivèrò di molte belle e bone e sante legiende di santi e di sante e di begli miracholi per amaestramento di noi pecchatori chome apresso diremo alle chotante charte per più tosto trovare il che vorà legiere. Assenprato per mano di Tomaso del maestro Piero del Pulci del popolo di santo Istefano a Ponte. In prima chominciai a scrivere a di xv d' aprile anno detto d' età d' anni 35.<sup>59</sup>

Tomaso, who started writing his collection in 1373, copied manuscripts for his own use (although the reference to "all of us, the sinners" could indicate that his miscellany was compiled for a group of people, possibly a family circle) in at least three phases, and combined the vernacular translation of the Apocalypse, the Acts of the Apostles and the first three chapters of a gospel harmony with extracts from the Old Testament, the lives of the saints, a list of indulgences to be obtained in Fiesole (near Florence) and catechetical material (including a list of commandments, a description of sacraments and the gifts of the Holy Ghost).

This pattern is also visible in the miscellany compiled in the fifteenth century by Pagolo di Piero del Persa (BNC, MS Palatino 73)<sup>60</sup> and a second,

<sup>58</sup> For a definition of "appropriation", see Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 36–41.

<sup>59</sup> "In the name of God, of his mother Virgin Mary and all the holy court of Paradise and of St John the Baptist and all the Saints Amen. Hereafter I will write of many good and holy legends of male and female saints and of miracles for the instruction of all of us, the sinners, as we will show in the following pages [the table of contents] written in order to find more easily the material you want to read. Assembled by Tomaso de' Piero del Pulci of the quarter of St. Stefano a Ponte. I started writing on 15 April at the age of 35."

<sup>60</sup> More specifically the manuscript contains: fols. 1r-5r: Vision of Saint Paul; fols. 5r-12r: lives of saints; fols. 12r-25r: Extracts from Italian translation of *Vitae Patrum*; fols. 26r-40r: Teachings of the Holy Fathers; fols. 40v-42r: Gospels for Lent; fols. 42r-44r: Indulgences;

anonymous, scribe. This manuscript includes a complete gospel harmony and an extract from a lectionary (Gospels for Lent) alongside the lives of saints, moral didactic treatises and catechetical instruction.<sup>61</sup>

A closer analysis of the manuscript corpus has confirmed that the inclusion of catechetical material is not an exception and that in textual collections such as those in BNC, MS II.IV.56 and BNC, MS Palatino 73, vernacular Bible translations are often contextualized by the addition of textual material strictly related to the religious education of laypeople. Catechetical material is in most cases grouped in a series of list-like texts, including the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Twelve Articles of Christian Faith, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Works of Mercy, the Seven Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins.

These compilations are also transmitted through statutes of confraternities, institutions which had the primary function of shaping late medieval lay spirituality. This is found for example in the fourteenth-century *Codice dei Servi* of Ferrara, where the instructions for the common rituals are followed by an explanation of the Commandments and of mortal sins, and by an enumeration of the Twelve Articles of Faith (an exposition of the *Credo*). The last text is followed by a warning to readers: “E cussì nui avemo li xij articoli che sono fundamento de tuta la nostra fede, i quali cascaduno fedele cristiano de’ savere e credere fermamente, altramente el serave tenuto infidele et heretico”.<sup>62</sup>

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fols. 49r-53v: Extracts from the Italian translation of Aristotles *Ethica* by Brunetto Latini; fols. 53v-56v: Description of the creation of the world; fols. 56v-63r: Treatise on sins and virtues; fols. 63r-63v: Gifts of the Holy Ghost; fols. 64r-67v: Descriptions of sacraments; fols. 68r-89v: Extracts from Cavalca's *Specchio della croce*; fols. 89v-99r: Legend and passion of Saint Istazio; fols. 99r-111r: Life of the Virgin Mary; fols. 125v-131v: Extracts from Italian translation of *Vitae Patrum*; fols. 131r-139r: Treatise on confession; fols. 143r-197r: Gospel harmony; fols. 198r-218r: Miracles of the Virgin Mary; fols. 218v-221v: Statutes of the *Compagnia di SS. Pietro e Paolo* (1511). The statutes of the *Compagnia di SS. Piero e Paolo* were added in 1511 by a later hand.

<sup>61</sup> A further interesting point in the manuscript is the specific reference to a confraternity linked to the monastery of Santa Brigida al Paradiso, as the place where the Pagolo di Piero del Persa found some of the material for his collection (fol. 89v: “Qui ò finito di scrivere questi capitoli e non posso iscrivere gli altri che seguono per ordine dopo questi perch’ io non posso più tenere questo libro ch’ è della compagnia di santa Brigida di Firenze” [“Here I finished writing these chapters and I cannot write anymore as I am not allowed to keep this book, which belongs to the Compagnia di Santa Brigida in Florence”]).

<sup>62</sup> “We have here described the twelve articles which are the foundations of our faith. Every Christian should know these articles by heart and strongly believe in them, otherwise he will be considered heretical and unfaithful.” Angelo Stella, ed., “Testi volgari ferraresi del secondo Trecento”, *Studi di filologia italiana* 26 (1968), 201–310, at p. 223.

The assimilation of these principles of Christian faith by laypeople is also made clear by their explicit mention in texts written by lay authors for the education of children or fellow citizens. A good example of the combination of religious and moral instruction has been preserved in the first pages of the *Libro di buoni costumi* (*The Book of Good Manners*) by the Florentine merchant Paolo da Certaldo (†1370). Paolo, writing for “his son, brother, neighbour, business partner or anyone else who wants to read [his] book”, starts his treatise with a listing of the Ten Commandments and the Seven Sacraments as well as the advice “to go often to Church and to listen to the Mass every morning before starting any activity and to pray for father, mother, your benefactors and for all family members who have passed away”.<sup>63</sup>

The combination of religious education and moral instructions suggested and described by Paolo da Certaldo plays a pivotal role in the construction of lay religious identities in late medieval Italy. Religious experience and daily activities are not separate, as the principles of Christian instruction inform social and civic life. Being a good Christian and being a good citizen become synonymous. This conflation of meanings, themes and attitudes is mirrored in vernacular Bible manuscripts,<sup>64</sup> and another important cluster of texts which are often combined with vernacular Bible translations are didactic-moralistic texts, in particular the *Fiore di virtù* (five manuscripts). Written in Bologna around 1300, the *Fiore di virtù* consists of thirty-five chapters describing the virtues and their corresponding vices (e.g., Love-Hate). Each chapter has the same

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<sup>63</sup> The *Libro di Buoni Costumi* is edited in Branca, *Mercanti scrittori*, pp. 1–99, at p. 3 (“In questo libro scriveremo molti assempri e buoni costume e buoni proverbi e buoni ammaestramenti: e però, figliuolo e fratel mio, e caro mio amico, vicino o compagno, o qual che tu sia che questo libro leggi”) and at p. 6 (“Usa spesso la santa chiesa, e ogni mattina anzi che facci altro odi una messa, e priega Iddio per te e per lo tuo padre e madre, e per chi ti fa bene, e per l'anime de'tuoi passati, e simile per tutti gli altri morti”). In addition to the description of the principles of Christian faith, the presence of the so-called *Credo di Dante* (at least fourteen manuscripts) should be mentioned. The poem, wrongly attributed to Dante and probably written by Antonio Beccari (also known as Antonio of Ferrara, †1374) and in which the conversion of Dante from love poet to Christian author is described, consists of a rhymed version of the *Credo*, together with an exposition of the sacraments, the Commandments, the vices, the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. For the *Credo di Dante*, see Antonio Beccari, *Rime*, ed. L. Bellucci (Bologna, 1967), pp. 61–71, poem XXII.

<sup>64</sup> Biblical translations are also transmitted in manuscripts containing vernacular translations of various classical works. On this subject, see Sabina Magrini's essay in this volume.

basic structure: definition of a virtue or a vice, a *similitudo* with an animal, a sequence of citations and an *exemplum*. The systematic structure of the treatise made it suitable for use as a textbook in the vernacular curriculum: the *Fiore di virtù* had the same function there as the *Disticha Catonis* had in Latin schools.<sup>65</sup> The text, which spread from Bologna to the Veneto region and in particular to Tuscany, presents an interesting combination of religious and lay elements. On the one hand, the reader finds in the text “examples of heroic Christian virtue in which the protagonist performs an extraordinary act of self-denial or even self-mutilation to avoid sin”, on the other, “[t]he book tried to teach the reader how to live in society prudently, even to the point of arguing that he must seize the advantage”.<sup>66</sup>

This blending of religious instruction and moral and didactic teachings also characterizes the treatises by the thirteenth-century Italian *causidicus* (lawyer) Albertanus of Brescia. In his *Liber de doctrina loquendi et tacendi* (1245), translated in the thirteenth century into the Italian vernacular (at least nine manuscripts in combination with biblical material), he discusses the importance of having good oral communication skills in urban society. He cites the Old Testament, in particular from the books of Proverbs and Sirach, and the New Testament (the Epistles of Paul and the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John) abundantly, as well as from such Latin authors as Cassiodorus (*Variae*) and pseudo-Caecilius Balbus (*De Nugis Philosophorum*) and from classical writers including Cicero.

Albertanus refers for example to the first chapter of Luke (Lk 1.28–37) as an illustration of the use of a clear procedure in communication: by referring to a well-known text, Albertanus could better explain to his readers the *modus operandi* of a good messenger. The text is cited and discussed to illustrate a good model of an embassy: the messenger should learn from the words of Gabriel that, as a good herald, he first greeted Mary kindly and then reassured her. Only after these words did he announce that she had been chosen to be the mother of Christ and explain to her that her pregnancy was the work of the Holy Spirit.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> On the *Fiore di virtù*: Sabrina Corbellini, *Italiaanse deugden en ondeugden: Dirc Potters Blome der doechden en de Italiaanse Fiore di virtù* (Amsterdam, 2000), p. 318.

<sup>66</sup> Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London, 1989), p. 279.

<sup>67</sup> Albertano da Brescia, *Liber de doctrina loquendi et tacendi: La parola del cittadino nell'Italia del Duecento*, ed. Paola Navone (Florence, 1998), p. 42.



## CONCLUSION

Manuscripts in which didactic treatises in the vernacular such as *Fiore di virtù* and the work of Albertanus are combined with biblical material and catechetical instructions are an important building block in the reconstruction of the social and cultural context of Italian biblical manuscripts. They were used in a lay milieu, with a strong presence of mercantile groups who aspired to create their own cultural identity based on the combination of practical, didactic and religious knowledge. Vernacular Bibles circulating in late medieval Italy show clear patterns of adaptation to a new group of readers. In fact, manuscripts often contain a partial translation of the Holy Writ, selected passages and pericopes related to a liturgical or paraliturgical use of the Bible. The employment of these vernacular translations is thus related to the official Epistle and Gospel readings during Church services and the texts copied in these manuscripts offered their users the opportunity to participate more intensely in the celebration or to reiterate the process of reading and listening to the Holy Writ in their own domestic environment. The manuscripts show a “domestication” of the biblical text, which moves from an official religious and liturgical setting into the domestic, private and personal space of lay readers.

The focus in the transmission of biblical material in the vernacular is undoubtedly on the narration of the life of Christ. Lay readers are invited and encouraged to make extensive use of extracts from the Gospels, or of a gospel harmony, and to start a process of identification which is pivotal in the formation of their religious identities. This process of religious acculturation, which was stimulated by religious orders such as the Mendicants in direct connection with the urban laity, occurred in the context of the rise of late medieval confraternities, which had a significant role in the diffusion of religious knowledge and vernacular Bible translations.

As in the case of the Florentine Franco Sacchetti, the scribes, owners and users of the corpus of manuscripts discussed in this essay show a high degree of familiarity with the Holy Writ: the text is written in their own language, the vernacular, copied in their own script, as the *mercantesca*, and used during private, semi-private and public religious activities. The Holy Writ has clearly entered the world of the lay readers.



## THE MEDIEVAL VERNACULAR BIBLE IN FRENCH AS A FLEXIBLE TEXT: SELECTIVE AND DISCONTINUOUS READING PRACTICES

Margriet Hoogvliet

Compared to other linguistic areas of late medieval Europe, the vernacular Bible in northern France stands out. A prose translation of the entire Bible into medieval French<sup>1</sup> intended for lay readers was available as early as the middle of the thirteenth century (between 1220–1260, according to the most recent estimation).<sup>2</sup> In other regions of Western Europe, on the other hand, complete vernacular Bibles did not circulate before the fourteenth century. Around 1310–20 copyists in Paris combined this first French Bible with another vernacular Bible, the *Bible historiale*, translated into Picard in the years before 1297 by Guiart des Moulins. The new French Bible resulting from the fusion of these two earlier biblical translations, in modern scholarship referred to as the *Bible historiale complétée*,<sup>3</sup> was one of the great successes of the commercial manuscript production in Paris during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and over 140 copies still survive in full or in part.

The *Bible historiale* has been the focal point of much scholarly attention, and not without reason: it is an impressive work which was copied in lavishly illustrated folio volumes. The privileged position of this translation in modern research nevertheless inhibits our understanding of the different forms and functions of French vernacular Bibles, because it has overshadowed other forms in which Sacred Scripture was available for readers in late medieval France. In reality the Bible in the French vernaculars was a flexible text, which was often copied in an abridged form,

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<sup>1</sup> The linguistic and geographical reality of France during the late Middle Ages does not correspond to the modern situation. I will use hereafter French in a very broad sense, including variants as Anglo-Norman, Picard and Walloon, but excluding the languages from the Midi (Occitan, Provençal, Catalan).

<sup>2</sup> This Bible translation is nowadays referred to as the *Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* or the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. For the dating and further references, see: Clive R. Sneddon, "The Old French Bible: the first complete vernacular Bible in Western Europe" in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York, 2011), pp. 296–31; idem, "The Bible in French" in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden, E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 251–267, at p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> On this Bible and further references, see Guy Lobrichon's essay in this volume.

fragmented and sometimes paraphrased. In French scholarship these fragmented vernacular Bibles and paraphrases are often characterized as church-endorsed substitutes, aimed at preventing the laity from gaining true biblical access.<sup>4</sup> For instance, in his overview of French vernacular Bibles during the Middle Ages, Maurice Bogaert observes that none of the medieval French translations deserves to be considered as a real Bible: "[La] Bible [était] assimilée sinon réduite à un livre d'histoire".<sup>5</sup> A similarly negative judgement had been expressed earlier in George Duby's *Age of the Cathedrals*, still an often consulted introduction to the history of France during the late Middle Ages. Duby repeated the hypothesis that the real Bible was hardly ever, or not at all, available in French during the Middle Ages and the laity had to do with a much diluted and filtered text:

[T]he translations of the Old and New Testaments held only a minor place. [...] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, short extracts of the Sunday's lessons or "moralised" simplified adaptations of the Bible were still the only books in the French dialect available to the lettered laity.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars often stress that the Bible in abridged and fragmented form is not a real Bible, as, for instance, Hervé Martin, who speaks of: "une Bible en miettes, ramenée à l'état de fragments banalisés".<sup>7</sup>

Judgements such as these are based on the idea that a Bible should contain all the canonical books from Genesis to Revelation. However, before the decree *De canonicis Scripturis* (1546), issued by the Council of Trent, no ecclesiastical rule prescribed the precise form of the Bible, and one should

<sup>4</sup> The often-repeated (and inaccurate) idea that vernacular Bibles were prohibited during the Middle Ages plays an important role in French scholarship. See, for instance: Marie-Élisabeth Henneau and Jean-Pierre Massaut, "Lire la Bible: un privilège, un droit ou un devoir?" in *Homo religiosus. Autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris, 1997), pp. 415–424; Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, "Commentaire" in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne*, ed. Jean-Claude Schmitt and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Paris, 2003), pp. 219–226, at p. 222: "La lecture directe de la Bible [...] fut probablement toujours étroitement contrôlée par l'Église et la diffusion des versions vernaculaires de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament fut sans doute très restreinte jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge". ("Direct reading of the Bible was probably always strictly controlled by the Church and the dissemination of vernacular versions of the Old and New Testaments was without any doubt very limited until the end of the Middle Ages").

<sup>5</sup> "The Bible was made similar to a book of history, if not reduced to it". Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La Bible française au Moyen Âge. Des premières traductions aux débuts de l'imprimerie" in *Les Bibles en français: histoire illustrée du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert and Christian Cannuyer (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 14–46, at p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Georges Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society 980–1420* (London, 1981), pp. 232–233.

<sup>7</sup> "A Bible in pieces, reduced to the form of banalized fragments". Hervé Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350–1520)* (Paris, 1988), p. 268.

be wary of projecting early modern concepts onto the medieval reality. As has been demonstrated in recent publications, during the Middle Ages even the Latin Bible was distributed and read in different forms; the countless surviving Evangelaries, single biblical books, Breviaries, Lectionaries, collections of sermons on biblical pericopes, collections of biblical *distinctiones* and *florilegia* are cases in point.<sup>8</sup> That these fragmented or abridged Bibles should not be disqualified too easily has been underscored by Arnold Angenendt: "Der Einwand, es sei hier nicht der volle biblische Geist lebendig gewesen, sondern nur Bruchmaterial in oft noch verfremdeter Auslegung, hat gewiss seine Berechtigung – und dennoch war es die Bibel".<sup>9</sup>

In many cases the biblical text was presented in a different form because it facilitated specific uses of Sacred Scripture. Peter Stallybrass has recently underscored that the development of navigational aids for codices, especially for the Bible (including biblical concordances, subject indexes, folio numbers, chapter division, running headlines), indicates

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<sup>8</sup> Christopher Ocker, "The Bible in the Fifteenth Century" in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 4: *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter P. Simons (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 472–493, with important remarks about the different forms of the vernacular Bibles during the fifteenth century, and Sneddon "The Bible in French", p. 255, about different genres of Bible translation. See also: Guy Lobrechon, "Panorama en bref des recherches actuelles sur la Bible au Moyen Âge", *Mélanges de l'école de Rome. Moyen Âge* 105 (1993), 827–836, at p. 835; idem, "Un nouveau genre pour un public novice: la paraphrase biblique dans l'espace roman du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle" in *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullmann (Toronto, 2009), pp. 87–108; *La Bible et ses raisons. Diffusion et distorsions du discours religieux (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, ed. Gérard Gros (Saint-Étienne, 1996). For Erasmus paraphrasing the Gospels in Latin was a means to communicate its true *sensus*: see Jean-François Cottier, "Les Paraphrases des Évangiles d'Érasme: le latin, instrument de vulgarisation des Écritures?" in *Tous vos gens à latin. Le latin, langue savante, langue mondaine (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. Emmanuel Bury (Geneva, 2005), pp. 331–345; idem, "*Lucernam accendere in meridie?* Du bon usage de la paraphrase biblique selon Erasme" in *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Wim François and August A. den Hollander (Leuven, 2009), pp. 65–85. Ruth Bottigheimer has demonstrated that during the early modern period Protestants in Germany, and most notably Lutherans, read abridged and sometimes Bible paraphrases instead of the complete set of canonical books of the Old and New Testament, even up to the eighteenth century. She also demonstrates how some of the scandalous events of the Bible (such as David and Bathsheba) were altered in order to present the reader with a morally acceptable narrative: Ruth Bottigheimer, "Bibles' and the Bible for Children in Early Modern Germany", *Past & Present* 139 (1993), 66–89.

<sup>9</sup> "The objection that it would not have been the full biblical spirit that was alive here, but only fragments, often in even more bewildering explanations, surely has its grounds – but still, it was the Bible". Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), p. 181.

that discontinuous reading was an important characteristic of the use of the Bible, both in Latin and in the vernaculars: "The discontinuous reading that the codex enabled thus became central to Christianity and led to the cutting up of the Bible into specific, usable parts, bound separately".<sup>10</sup> In line with this observation, I will approach the different medieval versions of Sacred Scripture in the French vernaculars from the perspective of the medieval readers, in order to demonstrate that the Bible was a flexible text and that fragments, paraphrases and abridgements in the vernacular were a useful format because they presented to the reader a text that was customized for specific reading practices that required a selective and discontinuous consultation of the Bible.

The religious and theological validity of vernacular texts has often been dismissed by suggesting that the Church only permitted laypeople to read adapted versions instead of the real Bible.<sup>11</sup> However, a recent trend in research has (re-)introduced the term "vernacular theologies" in order to underline their theological validity and to get past simplistic binary divisions such as Latin-learning vernacular-ignorance.<sup>12</sup> Following a similar line of reasoning, I will argue that the vernacular Bible, presented in a different form, was not necessarily an instrument in the hands of the Church in order to maintain the ignorance of the laity, but, quite to the contrary, it

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<sup>10</sup> Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible" in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 42–79, at p. 47. For discontinuous reading, see also: Vincent Gillespie, "Lukynge in haly bukes: *Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies", in *Spätmittelalterliche Geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 1–27, at p. 2; Géraldine Veyseyre, "Lecture linéaire ou consultation ponctuelle? Structuration du texte et apparats dans les manuscrits des Pèlerinages" in *Guillaume de Digulleville. Les pèlerinages allégoriques*, ed. Frédéric Duval and Fabienne Pomel (Rennes, 2008), pp. 315–330.

<sup>11</sup> See Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2008), p. 31 for a critical discussion of historical commonplaces concerning the supposed generalization of a repressive "here read this instead" orthodoxy.

<sup>12</sup> For a useful and critical discussion of this term, together with bibliographical references to earlier scholarship, see: Linda Georgianna, "Vernacular Theologies", *English Language Notes* 44 (2006), 87–94 and Vincent Gillespie, "Vernacular Theology" in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford, 2007), pp. 401–420. For the growing similarities between lay and clerical cultures in the 15th century, see: Klaus Schreiner, "Laienfrömmigkeit – Frömmigkeit von Eliten oder Frömmigkeit des Volkes? Zur Sozialen Verfasstheit laikaler Frömmigkeitspraxis im späten Mittelalter" in *Laienfrömmigkeit in sozialen und politischen Zusammenhängen des Späten Mittelalters*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich, 1992), pp. 1–78; John Van Engen, "Multiple Options: the World of the Fifteenth-Century Church", *Church History* 77–2 (2008), 257–285.

encouraged religious instruction and participation through explicit references to the source text.

The thesis of the Bible as a flexible text is very useful, but has not yet been substantiated with historical evidence for the fragmented and abridged Bibles in French, possibly because of the over-arching attention to the *Bible historiale*. I will present here historical source material, much of it unpublished, that confirms the hypothesis that in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France the vernacular Bible was a text that was often read in different forms. These abridged and fragmented Bibles were intended for different functions and uses, in response to the religious and devotional practices not only of its lay readers, but significantly, of its religious readers as well. In order to demonstrate this flexibility of the Bible in French during the late Middle Ages, I will retrace the most characteristic forms in which the biblical text circulated during this period: first, specific parts of the Bible (as the Old Testament in abridged forms, the Sapiential Books, or the Gospels); second, the biblical lessons that were read during Sunday Mass; third, the life of Christ and the Passion based on the Gospels; and finally collections of biblical quotations with moral guidelines. This article will follow these works from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century, with a special emphasis on the last century, because of the enormous increase in the number of copies that were in circulation. Rather than an exhaustive account of the complicated network of philological interdependencies and of all extant manuscripts, I will limit myself to an overview of the general lines of the textual developments and to a limited number of characteristic examples.

Then, the material evidence, including paratextual elements and the traces left by the readers, will illustrate the religious utility of French biblical translations presented in different forms. The manuscript evidence suggests that collections of biblical fragments, as well as abridged and paraphrased versions, were presented to their readers as reliable representatives of the Bible itself. I will argue that vernacular Bibles in different formats were closely connected to selective and discontinuous reading practices applied to Sacred Scripture, with a manifest predilection for certain parts of the text and its message: the biblical pericopes, the life and Passion of Christ, and moral guidelines. My main objective is to retrace the perspective of late medieval readers of the vernacular Bible and their reading habits, rather than to redefine the medieval French Bible in a text-critical sense.

SCRIPTURE-BASED TEXTS IN FRENCH: FRAGMENTS,  
ABRIDGEMENTS AND PARAPHRASES

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries abridged versions of the Bible must have been sought after: at least twelve medieval copies survive of an abridged Bible in the French of the Île-de-France with numerous commentaries, according to some manuscripts compiled by Roger d'Argenteuil, probably in the late thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Even more manuscripts must have circulated of an anonymous abridged Old Testament, possibly composed in the Lorraine area during the late thirteenth century, and commonly referred to as the *Bible abrégée*. It was copied frequently in various versions (in some manuscripts the text is adapted, amplified or abridged considerably),<sup>14</sup> and was printed in more than twenty editions between 1473 and 1545.<sup>15</sup>

Translations of separate books of the Old Testament were also common, but have received little scholarly attention. An example is the second chapter of the *Livre des enfants d'Israel*, dating from the late thirteenth

<sup>13</sup> The Creation, the course of the sun and the moon, Adam and Eve, the Deluge, the Annunciation, the Massacre of the Innocents, Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, the process against Jesus, torments and Crucifixion, Resurrection, Pentecost, Veronica, destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian, the coming of Antichrist. The manuscripts identified by Guy de Poerck and Rika Van Deyck, "La Bible et l'activité traductrice dans les pays romans avant 1300" in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* vol. VI: *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, vol. 2: *Partie documentaire*, ed. Jürgen Beyer and Franz Koppe (Heidelberg, 1970), no. 1492, should be completed with the lists in *The ME Prose Translation of Roger d'Argenteuil's Bible en français*, ed. Phyllis Moe (Heidelberg, 1977), pp. 13–14; *La Vengeance vengeance de Notre-Seigneur: The Old and Middle French prose versions*, Alvin E. ed. Alvin E. Ford (Toronto, 1993), p. 3; to which can be added BnF, MS fr. 909 (15th c.). Detailed descriptions of all manuscripts with medieval French texts, together with further bibliographical references, can be found in the JONAS database of the IRHT: <http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr>.

<sup>14</sup> Abridged text of the Octateuch, 1–4 Kings, Tobit, Job, Judith, Esther, Daniel, Jonas, Esdras, Maccabees; in some manuscripts followed by a treatise on the Seven Ages of man. In older scholarship this abridged Old Testament is sometimes referred to as "une compilation lorraine de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle". De Poerck and Van Dyck, "La Bible et l'activité traductrice", nos. 1428 and 1432; Bogaert, "La bible française", pp. 29, 37, mentions seven manuscripts, to which can be added: Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, MS 26 (15th c.); Chantilly, Musée Condé, MSS 3 (14th c.), 28 (early 15th c.); BL, MSS Add. 39657 (middle of the 15th c.), Harley 4412 (ca. 1480–1485); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2036 (15th c.); BnF, MS fr. 1964 (15th c.); Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1194 (15th c.); Troyes, BM, MS 917 (15th c.). Since this text has not always been recognized by cataloguers it is to be expected that even more manuscripts will come to light.

<sup>15</sup> For the printed editions, see: Pierre Aquilon, "La Bible abrégée", *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 2 (1972), 147–182; Bettye Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983), nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10–12, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 29, 37, 52, 56, 67, 98, 117, 118.



century, which reproduces the Book of Exodus in French, together with moralizing and allegorical explanations, turning in this manner the biblical text into a spiritual and exegetical guide in the vernacular.<sup>16</sup> The lessons of Solomon were probably also of great interest for lay audiences, as parts of the Sapiential Books together with commentaries occur in at least twelve manuscripts from the end of the Middle Ages and in one printed edition.<sup>17</sup> Even a potentially scandalous book such as the Song of Songs was rendered in French vernacular as early as the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> A fifteenth-century manuscript reproduces the complete text of the Song of Songs in French, preceded by a prologue with a defence of the importance of this sometimes explicitly erotic Bible book.<sup>19</sup> The actual accessibility of Song of Songs is not entirely clear: most versions appear in single manuscripts and it was printed only once before the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Geneviève Hasenohr, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception de la littérature de spiritualité en langue française au dernier siècle du Moyen Âge", in *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter*, ed. N. R. Wolf (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 57–90, at p. 59. Hasenohr lists ten medieval manuscripts, to which can be added Cambrai, BM, MS 171 (15th c.), which reproduces only Exodus with tropological explanations on fols. 120r–175r. Exegetical commentaries in translated French Bibles are not exceptional: KBR, MS 9001–02 (ca. 1415) is a *Bible historique complétée* with *moralités* (moralizing and spiritual explanations), most likely copied from a *Bible moralisée*.

<sup>17</sup> See Clive R. Sneddon, "Pour l'édition critique de la Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *La Bibbia in italiano tra medioevo e rinascimento. La Bible italienne au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Florence, 1998), pp. 229–246 at p. 230, to which can be added: Cambrai, BM, MS 241 (15th c.), fols. 120v–142r: inc. *Cy apres sensuyvent aucuns enseignemens de Salomon...*; Metz, BM, MS 534 (15th c.): *Les paraboles que Salomon fist a son filz*; Metz, BM, MS 675 (15th c.): *Les enseignemens et doctrines que Salomon donnat a son filz et a nous tous*. Since most of these texts form part of a miscellany and since they have not always been catalogued correctly, it is to be expected that more manuscripts will come to light. Printed edition: *Les paraboles de Salomon; le livre des cantiques; le livre de sapience; le livre ecclesiastique* (Lyons: Martin Huss, not before 1481), see *Bibles imprimées du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle conservées à Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Bibliothèque de la Société biblique. Catalogue collectif*, ed. Martine Delaveau and Denise Hillard (Paris, 2002), no. 1933.

<sup>18</sup> Bogaert, "La bible française", pp. 16, 22; Sylvia Huot, "Popular Piety and Devotional Literature: An Old French Rhyme about the Passion and its Textual History", *Romania* 115 (1997), 451–494, at pp. 467–470.

<sup>19</sup> Cambrai, BM, MS 1229. The fifteenth-century inscription by Claude Marbois on the last flyleaf indicates that this manuscript was owned by a layman.

<sup>20</sup> For the printed edition, see note 17. For the sixteenth century see: Francis M. Higman, *Piety and the People: Religious Printing in French, 1511–1551* (Aldershot, 1996), no. B 67; Andrew Pettegree, *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language Before 1601* (Leiden, 2007), no. 4493.

In spite of the lively textual production of translations and adaptations of the Old Testament, the New Testament seems to have been of greater importance for the laity in France during the late Middle Ages. From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, complete prose translations of the New Testament in French were available in numerous copies as second volumes of the *Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* and of the *Bible historique complétée*, including all Four Gospels, Acts, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and Revelation. Surviving manuscripts suggest that some were intended to function independently, separated from the Old Testament. A translation of the entire New Testament into Picard has been identified by Clive Sneddon as an independent translation.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of the availability of a French translation of the complete New Testament, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries its text was more often disseminated in fragmented and sometimes paraphrased form. The most frequently copied collections of fragments from the New Testament do not follow the chronological order of the events as recounted in the Gospels, Acts and the Epistles, but modify it in view of a specific function: as a linguistic aid for understanding the weekly lessons from the Gospels and Epistles (pericopes) that were read aloud in Latin during Mass. Collections of pericopes in French were available as early as the thirteenth century, and, together with sermons and commentaries, in increasing numbers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup> It was important for the laity to have access to the pericopes for the Sundays of the year, with or without sermons or commentaries, because the Church expected them to listen at home at least to the Epistle and Gospel of the Sunday if they could not attend Mass because of illness, as is stated in a French treatise intended for laypeople: “Et ce elle ne puet si oye mains epitre et euuangle et face memoire du benoit sacrement que a este fait le iour”.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Clive R. Sneddon, “A Middle French Translation of the Pauline Epistles” in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation. Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. P. R. Monks and D. D. R. Owen (Leiden, 1994), pp. 304–311, at p. 307, n. 16. See also Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au Moyen Âge. Étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrites en langue d’oïl* (Paris, 1884, repr. Geneva, 1967), pp. 259–269.

<sup>22</sup> Martin, *Le métier de prédicateur*, p. 221: “par milliers, voire par dizaines de milliers”. See also: Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, 1976), p. 13; Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford and New York, 1992), p. 53. For the English pericopes see Matti Peikola’s essay in this volume.

<sup>23</sup> “And if someone cannot [come to Mass], he or she should listen at least to the Epistle and Gospel and remember the Blessed Sacrament that has been consecrated that day”. Reims, BM, MS 614, fol. 129r. This text was copied in a religious miscellany in the vernacular owned by Archbishop Guy de Roye of Reims (d. 1409), with manifest pastoral intentions for

As early as the thirteenth century a collection of biblical pericopes in Picard was available for the diocese of Cambrai. The text, in the modern edition with the title *Les évangiles des domées*, is explicitly intended for laypeople: "Pour ce que [...] la bonne gent qui l'orront y aient devocion et aucun especial prouffit a l'ame".<sup>24</sup> This work survives in two manuscripts, one of which was certainly in the hands of lay owners,<sup>25</sup> but textual and codicological particularities suggest that it must have circulated in greater numbers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>26</sup> Later, between 1326 and 1336, Jean de Vignay, at the request of Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, undertook another translation of the biblical lessons for Sundays and feast days. This translation is in the French of Paris and survives in six luxurious manuscripts that could only have been afforded by the nobility and the urban elites.<sup>27</sup>

Collections of the pericopes in French were copied more often together with sermons. The majority of French sermon collections for the liturgical year include the Gospel or the Epistle of the day in the vernacular.<sup>28</sup> Maurice de Sully (†1196), bishop of Paris, is the author of a collection of sermons in Latin for the Sundays of the year, together with the gospel lessons. It was translated into French and enriched with commentaries from other sources, probably during the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

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the sake of the "simples gens", and hence it is not very likely that this recommendation was only intended for the nobility.

<sup>24</sup> "So that the good folk will become devout upon hearing it and their souls will benefit from it". R. Bossuat and G. Raynaud de Lage, eds., *Les évangiles des domées* (Paris, 1955), p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> BnF, MS fr. 1765 (late 13th-early 14th c.) has a fifteenth-century ex libris note by "Roberto Farnat de Parisius" and a miniature on fol. 83r shows a layman venerating the Virgin. The other surviving manuscript (BnF, MS fr. 908, 15th c.) has no visible inscriptions, but the end of the manuscript has been damaged by moisture and the last leaf was erased.

<sup>26</sup> Bossuat and Raynaud de Lage, *Les évangiles des domées*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Bogaert, "La bible française", pp. 21–22. The two other manuscripts this author mentions are in fact the biblical pericopes with sermons by Maurice de Sully (BnF, MS fr. 402, 15th c.) and with unidentified sermons and exempla (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 435, 15th c.). The latter has a mark on its fore-edge that indicates that it was in the library of St. Victor in the 15th century.

<sup>28</sup> Zink, *La prédication en langue romane*, p. 222, Siegfried Wenzel, "The use of the Bible in Preaching" in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 680–692. Larissa Taylor (*Soldiers of Christ*, p. 74) has observed that "the Bible was the overwhelming first choice as a source for all preachers".

<sup>29</sup> *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily with the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS*, ed. C. A. Robson (Oxford, 1952). For a discussion of the primacy of the French or the Latin version, see: Zink, *La prédication en langue romane*, pp. 32–42, 144–148, 173–180. This is the most frequently copied collection of

The audience of this French collection of sermons and gospel lessons included laypeople, who used it as reading texts.<sup>30</sup> For instance, a colophon in BnF, MS fr. 187, fol. 117r reveals that the manuscript was copied during the early fourteenth century by Laurent de la Roche, priest of the church of Saint-Jacques at the order of “mesire ....” (unfortunately the name has been erased). By the fifteenth century these collections were even read by artisans, as is testified by BnF, MS fr. 1822 (late thirteenth century) which belonged in the late fifteenth century to a carpenter named Jehan Lasne and later to a miller named Pierre Acquary, both from the small village Mesnil-Sellières, north-east of Troyes.<sup>31</sup>

The biblical pericopes in French, together with sermons, survive as reading texts for laypeople in numerous fifteenth-century manuscripts that have not yet been studied in detail, as for instance one from 1462, now Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1302. It contains the lessons from the Gospels with sermons “according to the use of Rome” starting with the first Sunday of Advent and ending with Easter (fols 1–31v). The rest of the manuscript contains the Passion story together with lives of the Apostles. It was owned in the fifteenth century by the layman Jehan Bray<sup>32</sup> and later by Pierre Choppin (fol. 112v). Unfortunately they do not indicate their social position, but the absence of epithets as *noble homme* or *seigneur de*, suggests that they were not from the nobility. An early sixteenth-century hand added the name “frater Petrus Berreti” (fols. 1r, 32v). A second example is The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 129 C 4, dating from the years 1480–1490, written in the French of the region Valenciennes-Mons. This manuscript has the signature of Philippe de Clèves (1459–1528) on fol. 300v, but it was not originally and not exclusively intended for

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sermons and lessons of the liturgical year in French. Similar collections do exist, including the sermons *per annum* by Bernard of Clairvaux translated into French (pp. 69–71).

<sup>30</sup> The question of vernacular sermon collections as reading texts and their audiences has not been central to most studies of the medieval French sermon. The only exception is Zink, *La prédication en langue romane*, pp. 139–195, who concludes that the laity counted among the readers of these books: “On a alors affaire à des recueils de lectures édifiantes destinées à des laïcs sachant lire en langue vulgaire” (p. 150).

<sup>31</sup> C. Pinchbeck, “A Medieval Self-Educator”, *Medium Ævum* 17 (1948), 1–14; Robson, *Maurice of Sully*, p. 69. On the actual sermons in this manuscript, see: Giovanni Strinna, “Cultura e spiritualità cistercense in una raccolta di sermoni in vallone”, *Romania* 126 (2008), 435–462.

<sup>32</sup> An apothecary named Jehan Bray from Mons is mentioned in a document dated 15 August 1421 as having delivered spices “contre l’epidemie” to the duke of Brabant. *Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut de l’avènement de Guillaume II à la mort de Jacqueline de Bavière*, vol. 4, ed. Léopold Devillers (Brussels, 1889), p. 295. The family name Choppin is very common, and consequently it is not possible to identify Pierre.

him.<sup>33</sup> It reproduces in French the lessons from the Gospels for forty Sundays, beginning with the first Sunday of Advent, together with sermons by Gregory the Great. The prologue makes clear that these were first and foremost intended to give lay readers better understanding of Sacred Scripture:

[...] vous que je cognois estre tres desirant de savoir et entendre la parolle de Dieu et la sainte Escripiture, en laquelle et par laquelle uous puissiez nourrir et repaistre uostre ame en lamour en la congoissance de nostre createur et avoir aucune consolation espirituelle [...] <sup>34</sup>

The gospel lessons accompanied by sermons of Maurice de Sully were not only copied in manuscripts, but continued to be in demand after the introduction of the printing press in France in 1470. The text was first printed in 1484 in Chambéry, reprinted seven times before the end of the fifteenth century and was still regularly in print during the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>35</sup> A little before 1492 Pierre Desrey translated “a la verite du texte des quatre Euvangelistes”<sup>36</sup> the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays of the Year, together with the expositions by Nicholas of Lyra at the request of Nicolas Ludot, merchant in paper, and Guillaume le Rouge, printer, both from the town of Troyes.<sup>37</sup> This collection of pericopes was popular as well: it was printed four times during the fifteenth century and continued being reprinted until the 1530s.<sup>38</sup>

Other vernacular versions of the New Testament respected its chronological and narrative order. While Tatian’s *Diatessaron* circulated in the vernacular in Italy and the Low Countries, this narrative of the Four Gospels combined was never translated into French or Occitan during the Middle Ages. But in France, new gospel harmonies in the vernacular were written. Apart from Guiart des Moulin’s gospel harmony that forms a part

<sup>33</sup> The prologue addresses a woman (“A sa tres chiere et devote en Jhesucrist”, fol. IIv) and the text is supposed to have several readers (“d’autres qui liront de ceste chose” on fol. IIIr).

<sup>34</sup> “[...] You who I know to be very desirous to know and to understand the word of God and the Sacred Scriptures, in which and by which you can feed your soul in the love and knowledge of our Creator and you can have some spiritual consolation [...]” (fol. IIr).

<sup>35</sup> Sources: the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC; <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>, consulted 30 August, 2011); Catalogue Collectif de France (CCFr; <http://ccfr.bnf.fr>, consulted 30 August, 2011); Pettegree, *French Vernacular Books*, nos. 37178–37193.

<sup>36</sup> “... truthfully after the text of the four evangelists”.

<sup>37</sup> Pierre Desrey, *Les postilles et expositions des épîtres et évangiles dominicales* (Paris, 1497 = BnF, Res A 1936).

<sup>38</sup> Sources: ISTC; CCFr; Higman, *Piety and the People*, nos. P25–34; Pettegree, *French Vernacular Books*, nos. 15934–15941.

of the *Bible historiale*, at least two other examples were made by anonymous authors. One can be found in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Lyon, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de lettres et sciences humaines, MS 43 (15), originating, its dialect suggests, from northeastern France. It is a miscellany of devotional and instructional texts for the laity (e.g. *Li liures Salemons, Le dialogue entre le pere et le filz*). The gospel harmony starts with a fragment copied from Mark and follows the biblical narrative, moving between all Four Gospels. The biblical source for each fragment is indicated by a rubric. The narrative ends on fol. 24r with the day after the Crucifixion when the Pharisees ask Pilate to send guards to Christ's sepulchre (Mt 28.62-66). A second gospel harmony survives in a manuscript that was copied around 1300 in northwestern France, now BL, MS Royal 20 A.xiii. It starts with the life of John the Baptist and ends with a paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles. Surprisingly, the text is entitled *Les ewangiles del an en roumant*, which, together with a number of lection-notes in the margins by a later hand, suggests that it could indeed have been used as a linguistic aid for understanding the gospel lessons of the *temporale*.

Lives of Christ and Passion stories in the vernacular circulated in exceptionally high numbers in France during the late fourteenth and most notably during the fifteenth century. While the extraordinary richness of the textual production in France, the complex network of textual relationships, and the number of unidentified texts inhibit full analysis at the moment, some general lines can be drawn. These texts are gospel harmonies focussing on a specific part of the Bible: the life and Passion of Christ. Lives of Christ were traditionally seen as translations or adaptations of Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes vitae Christi*,<sup>39</sup> but in fact, most are

<sup>39</sup> P. Columban Fischer ("Die Meditationes Vitae Christi: Ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und die Verfassersfrage, par. 3: Französische Übersetzungen", *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 25 [1932], 195–208) has categorically classified all lives of Christ and Passion stories in French as translations/adaptations of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*. A complete overview of the textual production is still lacking. The best recent studies are by Geneviève Hasenohr, "À propos de la Vie de nostre benoist Sauveur Jhesus Crist", *Romania* 102 (1981), 352–391; eadem, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception"; eadem, "La littérature religieuse" in *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. VIII/1: *La littérature française aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Heidelberg, 1988), pp. 266–305. See also: Maureen Boulton, "La Passion pour la Passion: Les textes en moyen français", *Le moyen français* 44–45 (2000), 45–62; eadem, "Jean Miélot: *Les Contemplations sur les sept heures de la Passion*", *Le moyen français* 67 (2010), 1–12. For the importance of the Latin lives of Christ, see: Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996); Sara McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*", *Speculum* 84 (2009), 905–955. I am greatly indebted to Professor Hasenohr, who was so kind to give me access to her unpublished notes for the *Grundriss der*

only very loosely inspired by this example. They are often explicitly Scripture-based and follow closely the order of events as described in the Gospels. Nevertheless, many of the Lives of Christ and Passion stories integrate additional material, such as apocryphal stories and commentaries, resulting, at times, in the gospel narrative taking an almost fictional character. This, however, was done in order to increase the devotional and compassionate sentiments of the reader (as will be demonstrated below). The differences between the gospel narrative and commentaries are always clearly indicated by paratextual elements.

Literal translations following exactly the text of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* are a minority among surviving manuscripts. Instead, the communication of the gospel story seems to have been the prime objective of most of the French texts. Even one with devotional instructions close to the *Meditationes* (beginning: “Sur toutes choses et mesmement entre les autres pensees espirituellenes...”<sup>40</sup>) refers nevertheless explicitly to the Gospels as its first point of reference through its title in several manuscripts: *La vie de nostre redempteur Jhesucrist selon les euangilles*.<sup>41</sup>

The most frequently copied Passion story is a text that according to some manuscripts was translated in 1398 by Jean Gerson for Queen Isabeau de Bavière, although this origin may possibly be an invention. Its modern title is *La Passion de 1398* and it survives in at least thirty manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> In the introduction, the anonymous translator advertises the evangelical reliability of his work by stressing that he did not add “moralites, hystoires, exemples ou figures”. The narrative begins with the resurrection of Lazarus and ends in most manuscripts with the Crucifixion; in some cases the text is longer and includes the Resurrection and Pentecost as well. The text of *La Passion de 1398* follows the Four Gospels closely, but also incorporates material that is now considered as apocryphal, but accepted during the Middle Ages, such as the Veronica Legend and the Sorrows of the Virgin after the death of Christ.

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*Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. VIII/2. The recent overview in *Übersetzung – Translation – Traduction: ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung*, ed. Harald Kittel, Juliane House and Brigitte Schulze, vol. II (Berlin, 2007), pp. 1354–1357, does not take into account Hasenohr’s important work on this subject.

<sup>40</sup> “Above all things and especially among other spiritual thoughts...”

<sup>41</sup> “The life of our Saviour Jesus Christ according to the Gospels”. In BnF, MSS fr. 980–981 and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 975.

<sup>42</sup> Hasenohr, “Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception”, pp. 71, 74; eadem, “La littérature religieuse”, p. 293, ca. thirty manuscripts. Modern edition: *La passion Isabeau. Une édition du manuscrit fr. 966 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris avec une introduction et notes*, ed. Edelgard E. Dubruck (New York, 1990), based on only a few manuscripts.

Most texts describing Christ's life and Passion add extra-biblical material to the gospel narrative: emotional responses, commentaries, relevant quotations from theological authorities and apocryphal texts. For instance, some works take the form of a sermon by combining the biblical narrative with devotional commentary and emotional responses. These sermons were appropriate for either oral delivery or private devotional reading. Surviving in nineteen manuscripts, the most frequently copied and imitated sermon is *Ad Deum vadit*, originally preached by Jean Gerson to the French King and his court on Good Friday in 1403.<sup>43</sup>

In France, as elsewhere, the story of Christ's Passion and Resurrection was also widely read in the vernacular according to the Gospel of Nicodemus, especially in the longer and adapted version where the events of the Passion are being told by the eyewitness Gamaliel. This *Passion selon Gamaliel* survives in fourteen manuscripts.<sup>44</sup> The Gospel of Nicodemus is apocryphal, but it was never condemned during the Middle Ages,<sup>45</sup> and was treated as an accepted part of French vernacular Bibles. For instance, *La Passion selon Gamaliel* was also incorporated into larger works, as the work entitled *La vie de Jésus Christ* (inc. "Audiens sapiens") which gives a brief account of the Creation, the life and death of John the Baptist, the Passion of Christ (according to Nicodemus/Gamaliel) and the Assumption of the Virgin. In the introduction to the printed edition the editor underlines that it is a "petit extrait tant du vieulx comme du nouveau testament".<sup>46</sup> Geneviève Hasenohr has demonstrated that this work must have been compiled in southern France before ca. 1470.<sup>47</sup> It is

<sup>43</sup> Hasenohr, "La littérature religieuse", p. 292; eadem, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception", p. 74.

<sup>44</sup> Hasenohr, "À propos de la Vie", p. 376; Alvin E. Ford, *L'Evangile de Nicodème: Les versions courtes en ancien français et en prose* (Geneva, 1973); Richard O'Gorman, "The Gospel of Nicodemus in the Vernacular Literature of Medieval France" in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, 1997), pp. 103–131; Lydie Lansard, "Proximité et mise à distance du texte biblique dans la version en moyen français de l'Évangile de Nicodème contenue dans les manuscrits Londres, British Library Additional 54325, BnF fr. 9262 et Paris BnF fr. 6260" in *Textes sacrés et culture profane: de la révélation à la création*, ed. Mélanie Adda (Bern, 2010), pp. 35–61. To the fourteen manuscripts mentioned by Ford and O'Gorman can be added BL, MS Egerton 2781 (ca. 1335–1340), fols. 131r–189v; see: Kathryn A. Smith, "The Neville of Hornby Hours and the Design of Literate Devotion", *The Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), 72–92.

<sup>45</sup> Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "The *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the Middle Ages" in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, 1997), pp. 43–101, at pp. 75–83.

<sup>46</sup> "A little extract from both the Old and the New Testament". Quoted from the Lyons edition, ca. 1485–1487; Reims, BM, Inc. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Hasenohr, "La littérature religieuse", pp. 295–296.



preserved in a single manuscript and was printed at least six times in Lyons before the end of the fifteenth century.

Fifteenth-century readers seem to have preferred these narrative – and sometimes paraphrased – versions of the Gospels because they befitted their devotions better: the emphasis on the emotional aspects and the eyewitness quality gave readers direct access to the life and Passion of Christ.<sup>48</sup> The meta-commentaries in the Lives and Passions of Christ justify these practices explicitly: “Et combien que en ce liure ait anciennes choses qui ne sont pas en leuungile cest pour enseigner et esmouuoir les cuers a deuocion”.<sup>49</sup> Jean Gerson used the same argument – moving his audience to devotion – in order to justify the use of extra-biblical material in his sermon *Ad Deum vadit*, when he needed to describe the sorrow of the Virgin during the Passion of her son, something that is not described in the Gospels: “Et car je n'en ai point d'escripture certaine, j'userai de conjectures prouables selon ce que j'ai encommence, sans presumptueuse assertion mais pour esmouuoir a religieuse devotion”.<sup>50</sup>

A fourth and last group of Scripture-based texts is composed of fragments from both Testaments that change the chronological order of the Bible in order to communicate an edifying and moralizing message. Among these is, for instance, a vast compilation written in the early fourteenth century (ca. 1313–1330), bearing the modern title *Ci nous dit*, but in the manuscripts referred to as *Une composicion de la Sainte Esriture*.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Hasenohr “La littérature religieuse”, p. 291: “Pour pallier les ‘insuffisances’ des canoniques”.

<sup>49</sup> “And although this book contains old things that are not in the Gospels, it has been done in order to give instruction and to move the hearts to devotion”. Quoted from Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 2036, fol. 388v. Similar arguments occur in several other manuscripts, as, for instance, BnF, MS fr. 9587, fols. ir-v: “Or je te veuil faire assauoir que je reciteray icy apres plusieurs choses des dictz et des faitz nostre seigneur Jhesucrist lesquelz point tu ne trouueras en leuungile mais selon que nous pouons deuotement penser et mediter que il feist ainsi et deist”. (“I want to inform you that I will recount hereafter several events of the sayings and acts of our lord Jesus Christ that you will not find at all in the Gospels, but according to which we can devoutly think and meditate that he acted and spoke in this way.”) A very similar theoretical defence of the rewriting of the biblical text was already used in the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, see: Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 17–18, 26–27.

<sup>50</sup> “Because I do not have reliable Scriptures about this, I will use provable conjectures according to what I have begun, without presumptuous assertions, but in order to move you to religious devotion”. Jean Gerson, *Ad Deum vadit*, ed. P. Glorieux, in *Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 7/2: *L’œuvre française. Sermons et Discours* (Paris, 1968), p. 477.

<sup>51</sup> *Ci nous dit: recueil d'exemples moraux*, ed. Gérard Blangez (Paris, 1979). See also: Christian Heck, *Le Ci nous dit. L'image médiévale et la culture des laïcs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: les enluminures du manuscrit Condé de Chantilly* (Turnhout, 2012).

This compilation begins with fragments from the Old and New Testament in more or less chronological order, to which numerous moral exempla have been added. In the second section fragments from the Bible are grouped together with exempla around moral themes, such as the virtues and vices. Each chapter (all beginning with *Ci nous dit*) completes the narrative with moralizing explanations. The Bible is the most important source for this work: Gérard Blangez has counted eighty-nine chapters based on the Old Testament, 101 on the New Testament, and twenty-nine following apocryphal Bible books.<sup>52</sup> *Ci nous dit* was not primarily intended as a preacher's manual: the manuscripts occur in inventories of owners from the high aristocracy,<sup>53</sup> and the text addresses explicitly lay readers. For instance, the *credo* is translated into French: "pour ce que ciz livres est en françoiz et que tuit cil qui le liront n'entendent pas le latin".<sup>54</sup>

A second text is *Le doctrinal aux simples gens*, which is a collection of the most important rules of conduct for a good Christian, each proven by a biblical quotation. Consequently, it is a collection of Bible fragments, selected in order to teach the basics of Christian faith and doctrine to those who did not have access to a complete Bible. In doing so, the text underlines the authority of the Bible as God's law, and the importance of knowing well the essence of its message. The short version was probably written in second half the fourteenth century and the longer version, which incorporates a detailed Passion story based on the Gospels, was probably composed in 1388 by a monk from Cluny.<sup>55</sup> This text of religious instruction is one of the most widely read in France: the long version has been printed in at least thirty-seven editions from 1478 to the seventeenth century.<sup>56</sup> The intention of the *Doctrinal aux simples gens* was to spread knowledge of Sacred Scripture, because, according to the introduction

<sup>52</sup> Blangez, *Ci nous dit*, pp. lxxi–lxxix.

<sup>53</sup> Blangez, *Ci nous dit*, pp. xxvi–xxxiii.

<sup>54</sup> "Because this book is in French and all those who will read it do not understand Latin". Blangez, *Ci nous dit*, Ci 604a. See also: Christian Heck, "Le livre illustré et la dévotion des laïcs au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les enluminures du *Ci nous dit* de Chantilly", *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-lettres* 144 (2000), 173–196, at p. 180.

<sup>55</sup> Chantal Amalvi-Mizzi, "Le Doctrinal aux simples gens ou Doctrine de sapience. Édition critique et commentaire" in *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes* (Paris, 1978), pp. 9–14; Hasenohr, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception", pp. 60, 71. The long version survives in twenty-three manuscripts. The short version has been wrongly ascribed to Jean Gerson and has been edited in Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 10: *L'oeuvre polémique*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris, 1973), pp. 295–323.

<sup>56</sup> Sources: ISTC; CCFr.

added by Archbishop Guy de Roye of Reims, it was intended for “les simples prestres qui nentendent mie les escriptures et pour lez simples gens est il fait en francois plainnement”.<sup>57</sup>

This overview indicates that, in spite of the fact that complete and literal translations of the Bible in French were available at a relatively early date, towards the late fourteenth and especially during the fifteenth century, the text of the French vernacular Bible was frequently read in a fragmented and abridged form, sometimes even paraphrasing the original text, and often including commentaries and extra-biblical material. Most of these texts were composed by clerics, but there is also evidence of lay readers selecting those parts of the Bible that were of interest or use for them. For instance, the Four Gospels were copied in 1284 from a *Bible française du XIIIe siècle* in a miscellany, BnF, MS fr. 12581, fols. 233–311, which also contains pragmatic and literary texts. The content suggests that this ensemble was the portable library of a merchant, who was interested in reading the Gospels.<sup>58</sup> Two short fragments from the Gospels occur in a fifteenth-century miscellany now Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 5366, fols. 88v–89r, which were probably copied by the owner herself.<sup>59</sup> This latter manuscript is a clear example of a personalized Bible: it combines very personal prayers to Christ for the return of a deceased son with the story of Jesus who calms the storm at sea and the resurrection of the son of the widow in Nain.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> “The simple priests who do not understand Scriptures any more, and for the simple people it has been written entirely in French”. Reims, BM, MS 614, dated 1403, fol. 172v. This was probably Guy de Roye’s personal copy, but the prologue is reproduced in many copies of the *Doctrinal aux simples gens*, both of the short and the extended versions. For Guy de Roye see: Vincent Tabbagh, “Guy de Roye, un évêque au temps du Grand Schisme”, *Revue Historique* 296/1 (1996), 29–58, at pp. 46–48, 54–47. There are other collections of biblical quotations with a moralizing and edifying message, as, for instance, the anonymous *La fleur des commendemens de Dieu*, first printed in Rouen in 1496, reprinted in 1498, 1499, 1500, and several other reprints until 1548; and Jacques Legrand’s, *Livre de bonnes meurs* (1404–1410), modern edition by Evencio Beltran (Paris, 1986).

<sup>58</sup> Clive R. Sneddon, *A Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible*, D.Phil. Diss. Oxford, 1978, nr. 29.

<sup>59</sup> The owner’s signature can be found at the end of the *Vengeance Vespasien* on fol. 86r, in the same hand as the preceding text “Cest liure est a Nicole de Bretagne qui le trouuera cy li rende et elle poyra bien le vin. Cy finist la vengeance Vaspasien.” (“This book belongs to Nicole de Bretagne. She will pay a good lot of wine to the person who finds it and returns it. Here ends the Vengeance of Vespasian”). This manuscript is known for the *Passion selon Gamaliel* on fols. 11–63r (Ford, *La Vengeance de Nostre-Seigneur*, p. 77), but the Gospel fragments and the prayers that follow immediately after the *explicit* have not yet been described.

<sup>60</sup> For other types of personalised Bibles, see Sabrina Corbellini’s essay in this volume.

## READING PRACTICES: EVIDENCE FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

The great diversity of the Scripture-based texts presented above and the high amount of surviving manuscripts indicate that the biblical text was more widely read in medieval French society than can be inferred from the surviving copies of the *Bible historiale complétée* alone. It also suggests that medieval audiences often preferred to read Sacred Scripture in a format that differed from the presentation of a complete Latin or vernacular Bible. The material evidence suggests that abridged and fragmented vernacular Bibles were presented and perceived as authentic texts. Although the vernacular works discussed above do not include the entire Bible, their prologues emphasise their authenticity, and they were presented to their audiences as reliable versions of the Bible, adapted for specific reading practices.

This is clear first and foremost from titles and references in the manuscripts that made the reader aware of the fact that he or she was reading a text that originated from the Bible. The following are examples: a manuscript with an abridged Bible attributed to Roger d'Argenteuil begins with the words "Ci encomence la bible en francois qui parole des choses qui furent iadis auenues et qui a auenir sont selonc les auctoritez des apostres".<sup>61</sup> The *Bible abrégée* in BnF, MS fr. 22888 (dated 1486) ends with: "Explicit la Bible en franchois". Several printed editions of the *Bible abrégée* have similar titles: *Le vieux testament de la Bible* (Lyons, 1478), and *La Bible en francois* (Paris, 1488–89). An even more characteristic example is found in the prologue to a fifteenth-century abridged Bible, combined with a translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus, where the translator (or the scribe) underlines that this French text is identical to the pericopes of the Latin Bible that are read during Sunday Mass: "Ci commence listoire de la Bible que lon lise en sainte esglise chacun an translatee de grec en latin et de latin en francois".<sup>62</sup> As stated earlier, the conceptualization of the French vernacular Bible during the late Middle Ages differed

<sup>61</sup> "Here begins the *bible en francois* which speaks of the events that happened in the past and those that will come according to the authority of the Apostles". KBR, MS 10574–85, 14th century, fol. 63r.

<sup>62</sup> "Here begins the history of the Bible that is being read in the Holy Church every year, translated from Greek into Latin and from Latin into French". BnF, MS fr. 6260, fol. 3r. In vernacular French Bibles similar remarks concerning the fact that the Latin Bible is a translation occur frequently. In some cases lection-notes have been added to the *Bible abrégée*, as in the printed copy (Paris 1488–89) now in the BnF (Rés. A 275), which has several lection-notes, added by a late-fifteenth century hand, referring to the Sunday epistles.

profoundly from modern conventions: an adapted or abbreviated biblical text could be read as such, but also a biblical text with additions from other sources. For instance, several chronicles bear the title *Bible*, such as the *Histoire universelle* in BnF, MS fr. 6982 (14th century), because the text reproduces the historical events from the Creation to the acts of the Apostles according to the Bible together with other important events from history.

The same can be observed concerning the Lives of Christ and Passion stories: these texts are advertised as faithful representatives of the Gospels. As indicated above, notes in the manuscripts made readers aware of the fact that he or she was reading a text “selon les euangilles”. Many other examples can be cited, such as a Life of Christ in Valenciennes, BM, MS 239 (fifteenth century), that is referred to as “les euvangilles nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist seloncq les iiii teustes”.<sup>63</sup> Christine de Pizan wrote in the introduction to her *Méditation de la Passion selon les Heures canoniales* that her most important source was the Bible: “[Je me] suis premierement efforsie de querir es saintes escriptures aucune bonne chose a vous induire”.<sup>64</sup> A similar phenomenon can be found in other texts, as for example the chapters concerned with the life of Christ in a late fourteenth-century manuscript of *Ci nous dit* in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1465, fol. 12r, which are each highlighted by a marginal note *euangile*, decorated with elaborate pen flourishes. Episodes from the life of Christ and the parables from the Gospels in Troyes, BM, MS 751, are also introduced by the rubric *euangile*. Even the chancellor Jean Gerson, who is often quoted as an adversary of the vernacular Bible, explicitly based his Passion sermon, *Ad Deum vadit*, on a gospel narrative: “Et comprendrai le sens des quatre evangelistes ensemble [...] Et prendrai tousdis une bonne partie du

<sup>63</sup> “The Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the four texts”, fol. 241v. Another example can be found in BnF, MS fr. 1768 (early 14th c.), fols. 59r-64v: *Li passions nostre seignour Jhesu crist selonc saint Matheu* (“The Passion of our lord Jesus Christ according to Saint Matthew”).

<sup>64</sup> “I have first made an effort to search in Sacred Scriptures some good things in order to guide you”. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 73 J 55 (c. 1450–1470), fol. 51v. During the late Middle Ages “l’escripture sainte” and “les escriptures saintes” referred to the Bible; see the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (<http://atilf.atilf.fr>; lemma: écriture). For Christine’s text see: Maureen Boulton, “Christine’s *Heures de contemplacion de la Passion* in the context of late-medieval Passion devotion” in *Contexts and Continuities. Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21–27 July 2000)*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Rosalind Brown-Grant (Glasgow, 2002), 1:99–113; Liliane Dulac, “Littérature et dévotion: à propos des *Heures de contemplacion sur la Passion de Nostre Seigneur* de Christine de Pizan” in *Miscellanea mediaevalia. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, ed. Jean-Claude Faucon, Alain Labbé and Danielle Quéruil (Paris, 1998), 1:475–484.

texte ensemble, afin que vous entendez ce qui sera de l'evangile".<sup>65</sup> As announced by Gerson, the sermon is divided into twenty-four parts according to the hours of a day, each introduced by a short narrative based on the Four Gospels.

Another indication of the close relation between the abridged, fragmented or paraphrasing forms of Sacred Scripture in French and the Latin Bible is that almost all authors underline in their prologue that they have translated faithfully from the Latin. A substantial part of these texts refer explicitly to the Latin Bible by quoting in Latin the incipits and other important phrases. These Latin quotations are highlighted visually in the manuscripts by underlining (sometimes by the copyist or the rubricator, sometimes visibly added by a later hand), by a larger script, or by using the more official *littera textualis formata*. Latin incipits occur usually in the collections of lessons for the Sundays of the year, as textual aids to help recognize the Latin lessons read during Mass. Latin phrases also occur regularly in the lives of Christ and Passion stories, as for instance in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 2036 (fifteenth century), the words of Jesus are first quoted in Latin: "Il leur dist: *Venite post me faciam vos fieri pisces hominum*. Venez apres moy et je vous feray pescheurs des hommes" (fol. 347r).<sup>66</sup> These Latin phrases, directly followed by a translation in French, are very common in the Lives and Passions of Christ in French; they are partially signs of the authenticity of the text, but they are also regularly well-known phrases from the liturgy.

These examples suggest that it was a commonly accepted practice to read a collection of biblical fragments, an abridged Bible, or a life of Christ instead of the complete Bible in the vernacular. Michel Zink has observed that thirteenth-century sermons in French do not distinguish between the literal text of the Bible and its paraphrases or its abridged forms.<sup>67</sup> This attitude is attested in the combination of a *Bible abrégée* with a life of Christ or a Passion story as well. The result is a Bible-like composite, consisting of elements from both the Old and New Testaments. This combination can be found in several manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque de

<sup>65</sup> "I will bring together the meaning of the four Evangelists [...] And I will take each time a good part of the text together so that you will understand what is in the Gospels". Jean Gerson, *Ad Deum vadit*, p. 453. In many manuscripts the Gospel narrative is visually distinguished from Gerson's commentary.

<sup>66</sup> "He said to them: *Venite post me faciam vos fieri pisces hominum*. Come, follow me and I will make you fishers of men".

<sup>67</sup> Zink, *La prédication en langue romane*, p. 309. The Latin sermons often quote the biblical text literally.

l'Arsenal MS 2036 (15th century), fols. 1r-204r for the *Bible abrégée*, fols. 205r-329r for moralized Gospels for the Sundays, and fols. 330r-432v for the Passion Story (inc. *Sur toutes choses et mesmement entre les autres pensees spirituelles*).

The abridged, fragmented and paraphrasing forms of Sacred Scripture were not restricted to the laity, but were also used by religious men and women.<sup>68</sup> Some of the above-mentioned collections of liturgical lessons and sermons were first owned by lay men and women, and later by a friar or a priest. Another example is the *Passion de 1398*; some manuscripts were written for religious women, such as The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 73 E 6 (dated 1470), which was written for “noble dame Madame Marguerite de Prie”, prioress of the Benedictine convent of La Ferté, while other manuscripts circulated rather among lay audiences. Even the monks of the famous Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux read biblical texts in French. In the *bibliothèque du dortoir* the monks kept 900 books for personal use in their cells. Most of these books were in Latin, but some were in French, such as a fifteenth-century manuscript with a rhymed life of Christ by Guillaume Digulleville, *Le pèlerinage de Jhesu Crist* (1358), now Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3646 (fols. 164v-224v).<sup>69</sup> The fact that these texts were used by religious men and women – and not only by novices or lay brothers and sisters – demonstrates that they were not intended to keep the laity away from the real Bible, but rather that these Bibles were useful in the religious and devotional life of all Christians.

One of the reasons for the use of abridged and fragmented Bibles was financial: readers from the middle and lower classes could not afford to buy a manuscript with the complete text of the Bible, but, as demonstrated above, even a carpenter and a miller could possess a shorter text. The prologues advertise their usefulness for people who are distracted by their worldly occupations, and who lack the time for study. This is stated very clearly in the introduction to the Life of Christ with the incipit “Audiens sapiens”: “A tous bons et vrais crestiens soit ce petit liure

<sup>68</sup> On the problems of a simple Latin-clerical/vernacular-lay divide as well as the similarities in the reading cultures of clerics, monks and laypersons during the late Middle Ages, see: Schreiner, “Laienfrömmigkeit”; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 11. The ERC Starting Grant project OPVS (Old Pious Vernacular Successes/Oeuvres Pieuses Vernaculaires à Succès) directed by Géraldine Veyseyre (IRHT, Paris) will result in more knowledge about religious texts in the European vernaculars that were read by both laypeople and clerics (see: [www.opvs.fr](http://www.opvs.fr)).

<sup>69</sup> *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, vol. 1: catalogues et répertoires*, ed. André Vernet (Paris, 1979), pp. 42–44.

presente le quel pource que les faitz de la saincte escripture sont si grans que a paine humaine creature les peult comprendre et mesmement simples gens qui nont eu et nont l'opportunitè destudier".<sup>70</sup>

Besides practical arguments such as these, there was a religious rationale for the abridgement, fragmentation and sometimes paraphrasing of the Bible. The presentation of the biblical text in a different form was a means to create a focus on a specific part of its message, and also to adapt it to specific reading practices. As has been seen, some of these texts were tailor-made to function according to the yearly cycle of the liturgy, while other texts consisted particularly of the moral lessons of the Bible. The largest group of texts was intended to function as the basis for devotional reading centred on the life and Passion of Christ. In fact, during the fifteenth century, the Passion was considered the most important part of the biblical message.<sup>71</sup> This is confirmed by the following indication in the prologue of the Passion story with the following incipit: "Sur toutes choses et mesmement entre les choses espirituèlles je croy que panser aux fais et aux dictz du tres doulx salueur Jhesucrist nostre seigneur est plus prouffit-able et necessaire chose que nulle autre chose".<sup>72</sup>

All this suggests that during the late Middle Ages the vernacular French Bible was subjected to practices of selective and discontinuous reading, and specific parts of its text were singled out: the biblical pericopes that were read during Mass, the life and Passion of Christ, and moral lessons. Approximately thirty to forty percent of the manuscripts of the *Bible historique complétée* show traces of marginal notes left by their medieval readers (manicules, lection-notes, crosses or simple signs in the margins) that indicate an interest in exactly those parts of the Bible that also were reproduced in the abridged and fragmented Bibles. For instance, in Bibliothèque de Genève MS fr. 3, completed in 1474 for "Hugonin du Pont, marchan et citoyen de la cite de Genesve",<sup>73</sup> numerous markings in different inks highlight passages from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Isaiah, while manicules in the Four Gospels and Acts indicate the

<sup>70</sup> "This little book is presented to all good and real Christians, because the facts of Sacred Scriptures are so great that human creatures can scarcely understand them, and especially the simple folk who have never had and who do not have the time to study". Quoted and translated from Reims, BM, Inc. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*.

<sup>72</sup> "Of all things and especially among spiritual things I believe that thinking of the acts and sayings of the very sweet Saviour Jesus Christ is more beneficial and necessary than anything else". Quoted from BnF, MS fr. 980, fol. 7r.

<sup>73</sup> Vol. I, fol. 276v.



pericopes. Other manuscripts testify to a specific interest in the Passion, as in BL, MS Royal 1 A.xx, where a late medieval reader has noted “pacjon” in the relevant margins of Matthew and Mark.<sup>74</sup>

In view of the prevailing use of the vernacular Bible in late medieval France for selective and discontinuous reading, the abridged and fragmented Bibles and the Passion stories can be considered as material witnesses to these reading practices.<sup>75</sup> These Bibles in a different format would have had the advantage that readers did not have to look up the relevant passages in a complete Bible, but instead had in front of them those parts that were useful for them and in an order that suited exactly the intended function. Moreover, as Christian Heck has demonstrated, a fragmented text is also in its turn an aid for associative reading, and it facilitates exegetical forms of reading: “[...] cette rupture de la continuité du texte biblique ne constitue en rien une perte d’un sens chrétien de l’histoire du monde, mais se fonde sur une incessante volonté d’exégèse, et sur la priorité donnée à l’interprétation plutôt qu’à la représentation”.<sup>76</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The process of translating the Latin Bible into French and adapting it for specific uses, does not imply that it was reduced to a *livre d’histoire*, or that it resulted in its *désacralisation*, as suggested recently by Lydie Lansard.<sup>77</sup> Quite the contrary, the French vernacular Bible in all its forms was intended for both lay and religious readers, and it was an invitation to its readers to acquire biblical knowledge and to participate in a fuller form of religious life. The medieval sources presented here indicate clearly that for the medieval readers, fragmented or abridged Bibles, sometimes even including alterations in the exact wording of the sacred text, were not considered to be less useful than the complete and literally translated biblical text. The historical source material suggests also quite compellingly that the late medieval conceptualization of the French vernacular Bible differed enormously from our modern ideas, and that it was a much more

<sup>74</sup> On fols. 262r and 278r.

<sup>75</sup> Stallybrass, “Books and Scrolls”, p. 46.

<sup>76</sup> “[...] this break in the continuity of the biblical text does not result at all in a loss of a Christian meaning of the history of the world, but it is based on a continuing impetus towards exegesis and on the priority given to interpretation rather than to representation”. Heck, “Le livre illustré”, p. 182.

<sup>77</sup> Lansard, “Proximité et mise à distance”, p. 35.

flexible text. Consequently, the historical study of French vernacular versions during the late Middle Ages should not be based on overly rigid categorizations, lest we lose sight of them as texts that were actually read by their historical audiences as reliable representatives of the Bible itself.

The flexibility and the adaptability of the French Bible during the late Middle Ages indicate that it was a rich and living textual tradition. They also suggest that there must have been a great interest in these fragmented and abridged versions. The often suggested possibility that the ecclesiastical authorities, out of fear for heresy, prescribed the Bible in this filtered form to the laity in order to prevent them from having access to the Book itself, is strongly contradicted by the diversity of the textual tradition. Instead of some form of centralized censoring that controlled textual production, the great variety of texts rather suggests that multiple authors wrote for different groups of readers who demanded personalized books. The authors of the vernacular texts discussed here were all members of the Church (Christine de Pizan being an exception), but the production of the manuscripts themselves followed the demands of consumers; at the end it was readers who ordered – and paid for – the manuscripts. Moreover, the most important objective of the Scripture-based texts discussed here was to spread knowledge of the biblical text and to encourage religious reading. We might even suggest that the sixteenth-century movement in France that exhorted people to read the Gospels, known as *l'Évangélisme*, had at least some of its roots in the lively culture of biblical reading of the late fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Similar suggestions have been made for the British Isles by Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984), pp. 127–128 and for France by Émile G. Léonard, *Calvin et la Réforme en France* (Paris, 1947), p. 36: “Bien plus qu’une révolte contre la piété catholique, la Réforme en fut l’aboutissement” (“Much more than a revolt against Catholic piety, the Reform was its logical outcome”).

THE STORY OF A SUCCESS: THE *BIBLE HISTORIALE* IN FRENCH  
(1295-CA. 1500)

Guy Lobrichon\*

During the first decades of the thirteenth century, the masters of the University of Paris made a pragmatic and concerted effort to harmonize the Bible used in the Western Church and the Ordinary Gloss. It was not their intention to substitute a new translation for the prevailing Vulgate, and they did not even try to bring its text under control. But they framed and redirected the text of the Bible, thanks to three major innovations: an order of the books which is characteristic of the Bibles produced in Paris from the 1220s; a division of each book into chapters, commonly ascribed to Stephen Langton; and the triumph of the Gallican Psalter (in addition to other innovations that disappeared when the Bible was translated into vernacular languages). The time was right for a “Parisian Bible”, best represented by the pocket Bibles (see Chiara Ruzzier’s essay in this volume). These new Latin Bibles were frequently sold and exchanged, and were owned and used in both lay and clerical circles, yet they always remained the instruments of high culture. But what was the situation like outside the cathedrals, the monasteries and their schools – oases where both educated clerics and those among the laity who had to master Latin in order to satisfy the needs of government, the rules of communication and trade (and maybe also their entertainment) gathered? To what extent did the learned Bible transfer into the vernacular languages? Biblical paraphrases, either in verse or in prose, had been circulating since the eleventh century in Germany and in England.<sup>1</sup> They were, however, never complete and have almost always come down to us as fragments. The dramatic increase in literacy in the twelfth century substantially altered the situation. As early as the second quarter of the twelfth century, in the two most dynamic linguistic domains, the Anglo-Norman and the Gallo-French, the first experimentations to adapt the Bible to new audiences can be seen.

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\* Translated by Marie-Pierre Gelin.

<sup>1</sup> See Guy Lobrichon, “Les paraphrases bibliques comme instruments théologiques dans l’espace roman des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles” in *La Scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica. Atti del Convegno di Firenze, 26–28 giugno 1997*, ed. Francesco Stella (Florence, 2001), pp. 155–176.

But their dissemination remained haphazard, and limited to the Plantagenet Empire and to northern France, most notably Picardy and Flanders.

#### PETER COMESTOR'S *HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA*

A new chapter in the history of biblical translations began with the publication of a book which was to become the model, indeed the archetype, for a particular type of "translation" of the Bible into French: the *Historia scholastica* of the Parisian master Peter Comestor. Although Peter Comestor was probably born in the Champagne region, and began his career in Troyes, he went to Paris to pursue his teaching career. A disciple of Peter Lombard, he reached prominence when he was elected chancellor of Notre Dame in Paris, shortly before 1164. Peter Comestor composed numerous sermons and several commentaries on biblical books.<sup>2</sup> None of his books, however, became as famous as his *Historia scholastica*, dedicated to the very powerful William, archbishop of Sens between 1169 and 1173.<sup>3</sup> Peter's ambition appears modest, and this has misled most historians. He presents his book as a handbook for the study of the Bible. Peter taught his students how to interpret the biblical text according to the literal sense, that is to say starting with the grammatical, etymological and historical meaning of the text, and interpreting it very literally using information taken from topography and historical observation. In his eyes, as in those of all his contemporaries, this information helped to prove the authenticity of the Bible. Peter was certainly familiar with at least some of the interpretations being used in the Jewish school in Troyes, such as those by Rabbi Shlomo ben Isaac, the famous Rashi (†1105). He did not know them first hand, but rather through works of other Christian masters on Hebrew sources, in particular the masters of the school of Saint Victor in Paris, and specifically among them Andrew of Saint Victor (†1175).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Petrus Comestor, *Scholastica Historia: Liber Genesis*, ed. A. Sylwan, CCCM 191 (Turnhout, 2005), afterwards *SH Gn*. See Beryl Smalley, *The Gospels in the Schools, c.1100-c.1280* (London-Ronceverte, 1985), pp. 1–85; Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible dans l'Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> *SH Gn*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Rainer Berndt, *André de Saint-Victor († 1175), exégète et théologien*, Bibliotheca victorina II (Turnhout, 1991); idem, "La pratique exégétique d'André de Saint-Victor. Tradition victorine et influence rabbinique" in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean Longère (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 271–290.

A first version of the Latin *Historia scholastica* appeared around 1170. In it, the Bible is taken as the history of the chosen people from the creation of the world to evangelical times, from Genesis through the Gospels.<sup>5</sup> The exceptional influence of the *Historia scholastica* can be appreciated thanks to three remarkable developments, which took place over the course of sixty years.

The first development is that Peter Comestor's work became the inspiration for three immediate continuations. Peter did not retell the entire Bible, but instead concluded with the Gospels, which he summarised as "four Gospels into one". One of his disciples from Champagne took over and added a historical retelling of Acts (*Historia actuum apostolorum*);<sup>6</sup> at the same time, Richard of Saint Victor was composing another continuation known as the *Liber exceptionum*.<sup>7</sup> A third continuator, Peter of Poitiers (ca. 1130–1205, master in 1167 and chancellor of the Paris schools from 1193 to 1205), wrote a widely-disseminated manual, which included a long genealogy of Christ from Adam in the form of a series of tables. Thanks to this, a diagram of biblical history was created, similar to those which were put together around the same time for universal history.<sup>8</sup> This first contribution to Comestor's fame was enhanced through other means as well, as scholars adapted the *Historia scholastica* to the forms used by the *ars poetica*, which had well-known mnemonic properties. The first of these scholars was a Parisian colleague of the two Peters, the enigmatic Master Leoninus, who wrote a poem on the Old Testament "histories".<sup>9</sup> Within

<sup>5</sup> "A cosmographia Moysi inchoans riuulum historicum deduxi usque ad ascensionem saluatoris, pelagis mysteriorum peritioribus relinquens in quibus et uetera prosecui et noua cudere licet" (*SH Gn*, p. 3), or, according to Guiart's "translation" as it was in the 1430s (BAV, Barb. lat. 613, f. 2v): "I have begun this work with the description of the world ... I have led the flow of the Histories up the Ascension of our Lord. I have left to others, who are wiser than I am, the exposition of the depth of the mysteries... and on these Histories of the patriarchs, I have added much from pagan history...which is like a stream flowing from the same river".

<sup>6</sup> Stegmüller, nos. 6565 and 6785; PL 198:1645–1722.

<sup>7</sup> Richard of Saint Victor, *Liber Exceptionum*, ed. Jean Châtillon, *Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age* 5 (Paris, 1958).

<sup>8</sup> See Agneta Sylwan, "Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*: une nouvelle édition", *Sacris Erudiri* 39 (2000), 345–382; Lesley Smith, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274*, *The Medieval Book* 2 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001); concerning Peter of Poitiers: Jean Longère, "Pierre de Poitiers", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 12 (1986), 1639–1648.

<sup>9</sup> The *Historiae veteris testamenti* of Master Leoninus or Leonius presbyter parisiensis have not been edited and can be found in a single manuscript, BnF, MS lat. 14759 (Paris, ca. 1170): see Craig Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986), 1–35. Among other examples of the translation of biblical books into

thirty years another Latin poem, the *Aurora*, was written. Its author, Peter Riga, originally from Reims, was at the time a canon in Paris. His poem is a transposition of the *Historia scholastica*, summarised and put into verse to make it easy to memorise. It was quickly widely disseminated but, despite its fame, it was exclusively confined to ecclesiastical circles.<sup>10</sup>

The second development is that the *Historia scholastica* became a teaching handbook. Peter Comestor's fame grew in the thirteenth century and, following the example of Peter the Chanter (†1197) and Stephen Langton (†1228), from the beginning of the century the masters and students of the University of Paris used his work as an elementary handbook for the study of the Bible.<sup>11</sup> From Paris to Oxford, Toulouse, Bologna and Rome, university professors from William of Auvergne to Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, made the most of the *Historia scholastica*. It also became the subject of commentaries, starting with that of the Dominican Hugh of Saint Cher (†1263).<sup>12</sup>

The third development is even more surprising and intriguing. From 1225 onwards, the *Historia scholastica* underwent a new kind of translation and was transposed into images. The Capetians, following Blanche of Castille's example, diverted for their own benefit part of Peter Comestor's intellectual inheritance. They commissioned the best workshops in Paris to produce several copies of an "illustrated Bible" known today as the *Bible moralisée*. Peter Comestor's influence on these works is clear: they follow his teaching programme and, more specifically, adopt the plan of a historical encyclopaedia of the Bible.<sup>13</sup> The books selected and their order in

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verse is the poem written by Geoffrey, prior of the *Templum domini* in Jerusalem, ca. 1135 (?) and therefore a forerunner of the *Historia scholastica* (Eyal Poleg, "On the Books of Maccabees: An Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey, Prior of the *Templum Domini*", *Crusades* 9 [2010], 13–56).

<sup>10</sup> Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata: A Verse Commentary on the Bible* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1965). Alexander of Ashby (ca. 1220) composed a "Brevissima comprehensio historiarum": *Alexandri Essebiensis Opera omnia. Pars II: Opera poetica*, ed. Greti Dinkova-Bruun, CCCM 188A (Turnhout, 2004), which was occasionally copied alongside the *Historia scholastica*, Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium* or the *Aurora*.

<sup>11</sup> Smalley, *Study, passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Roger Bacon complained that contemporary students did not even bother to read the Bible, but rather were content to read Peter Comestor.

<sup>13</sup> John Lowden, *The Making of the Bible moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2000); Yves Christe, "La Bible du Roi: le livre des Nombres dans les Bibles moralisées et les vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle", *Studi Medievali* 45 (2004), 923–945; idem, "Grossetest", in *Autour de Guillaume d'Auvergne*, ed. Franco Morenzoni and Jean-Yves Tilliette (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 341–367; Guy Lobrichon, "La Bible des rois capétiens" in "Tout le temps du veneur est sanz oyseuseté", *Mélanges offerts à Yves Christe pour son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves*, ed. Christine Hediger (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 205–228 and idem,

the *Bibles moralisées* of Vienna, Toledo, and the fragments scattered between Paris, Oxford and London,<sup>14</sup> as well as the conventional approach to exegesis, not only reveal the intense curiosity aroused by the *Historia scholastica*, but also the new Christian moral and political codes; the royal initiative influenced the perceptions of universal history in the circles closest to political power.<sup>15</sup> Whereas in Plantagenet England the princes and the aristocracy turned to the Anglo-French Apocalypses to sustain their vision of history, on the Continent the tremendous fame of the *Historia scholastica*, which was copied in abundance beginning in the 1170s and all through the thirteenth century, leads to the conclusion that all its readers – mostly clerics, but also, as will be shown, lay people – looked for, and found, in this handbook much more than an introduction to the literal sense of the Christian Bible: very early on, it was received as a practical compendium of the history of the world according to the Bible, beginning with the first day of creation. The encyclopaedists and teachers employed by the princes all turned to the master of “Histories”. Following the example of Godfrey of Viterbo who quoted him in his *Speculum regum*, written for the imperial family around 1183, tutors for the Capetian family also made use of his text. Of all these advisers and teachers of the kings of France, Vincent of Beauvais remained the most faithful to Comestor’s spirit, both in his *Speculum historiale* and in his *De morali principis institutione* (1264), written for the benefit of King Louis IX.<sup>16</sup>

#### BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSFERS INTO FRENCH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: THE *BIBLE DU XIII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE* AND THE ACRE BIBLE

The interest displayed by the elite classes for history read and seen through the filter of the Bible has led to comparisons between such traditional

“Le bibbie ad immagini, secoli XII-XV”, in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. Paolo Cherubini, pref. Carlo Maria Martini, intr. Alessandro Pratesi (Vatican, 2005), pp. 423–457.

<sup>14</sup> Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MSS 2554 and 1179; Toledo, Tesoro del Catedral, MSS I, II and III and the quire of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 240; Bodl., MS Bodley 270b + BnF, MS lat. 11560 + BL, MSS Harley 1526–1527.

<sup>15</sup> Concerning the link between the *Historia scolastica* and the *Bibles moralisées*, see Lowden, *The Making*, 2:12–13.

<sup>16</sup> Godfrey of Viterbo, *Speculum regum*, *Book I: Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. Hans Hubert Anton, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe* 45 (Darmstadt, 2006), 216ff. Vincent of Beauvais, *De morali principis institutione*, c. 2 (*Fürstenspiegel*, o.c., pp. 458, 466, 473...).

tools as paraphrases and adaptations on the one hand, and translations of the sacred Scriptures on the other. "Translation" is too often thought of as the conversion of a text and its meaning from a source language into the target language. The translation of such a normative text as the Bible requires much more than this. It must not only be agreeable to a given community, but also nourish and satisfy it, while at the same time attracting new readers and fulfilling their expectations. The translation cannot only produce meaning: it must in addition establish that meaning, giving it roots in the reader's or listener's mind. It must convince, something which a literal translation always fails to do. In order to achieve his aim, the thirteenth-century "translator" made the most of all the formal, rhetorical and aesthetic devices likely to please and improve. He paraphrased and therefore did not translate, and in so doing he enriched the culture of the generation he targeted. Here it is necessary to understand the ways in which a community, whatever it might be, can infuse the text of the Bible – which in principle contains the law of Christianity – with its own values. Everything would be simple if the conversion of the Bible into French had been the work of a single generation, which would have produced in a short time the message appropriate for the society of the Capetian kingdom, as was later done by Martin Luther, who, according to the legend which still burdens so many minds, translated the Bible into German. Reality is, however, rather more complex.

In France in the thirteenth century, the need was felt for a translation of the whole of the Bible into French half a century after Innocent III first expressed misgivings concerning uncontrolled attempts at appropriating the Bible, and within two decades of an interdict proclaimed in 1229 by the Council of Toulouse, in the hope of stamping out curiosity about the Gospels among religious dissenters in southern France.<sup>17</sup> Historians know four main translations of the Bible into French. The first is the Acre Bible, a French version copied in Acre at Louis IX's behest between 1250 and 1254. The contents of the Acre Bible allow us to place it within a double tradition: on the one hand, the tradition of the *Historia scholastica*, whose main theme it continued, and on the other, that of an adaptation of the book of Judges that two masters of Order of the Temple in England may have commissioned shortly before 1179.<sup>18</sup> This enterprise produced

<sup>17</sup> Edward Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe* (London, 1980), pp. 194–95, Canon 14.

<sup>18</sup> The Acre Bible is Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, copied and illuminated in Acre in 1250–54. Three other manuscripts of it are known (one of which was copied in



a text which may have been sponsored by the king, but which appears better fitted to the ideals of the aristocratic warriors who defended what little was left of the Kingdom of Jerusalem around the city of Acre.

The second great attempt at translating the Bible into French, mistakenly called "*la Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*", was almost certainly undertaken in Paris, the capital of the French Kingdom, maybe only a few years before the second Council of Lyons held in 1274.<sup>19</sup> I concur with the opinion expressed by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, noting first, that this "Bible" is a composite, since it includes other partial translations; secondly, that it popularized the Latin Bible which had been finalized and standardized in Paris in the 1230s; and lastly, that it distanced itself from the influence of Peter Comestor.

A century later, a third undertaking was embarked upon, when King John II (1350–1364) of France commissioned the Franciscan friar John of Sy to write a new French version of the Bible. What John of Sy did, however, was to obscure the path forged by the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* by combining a "translation" with elements borrowed from Peter Comestor and the *Glossa ordinaria*. Moreover, he was the first to use a unique scheme: he had planned twelve volumes (as many as for a complete Bible with the Gloss) and a page layout similar to the one used in the *Decretum Gratiani* and other legal manuscripts. What happened next is well-known: John of Sy abandoned his work in the middle of the book of Jeremiah, when the

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Acre) as well as a s. xv translation into Occitan. Scholarship on the Acre Bible is abundant; e.g. D. Muzerelle, "French Bible of Acre" in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven, 1995), pp. 63–5 (which reproduces the first folio of Genesis); Eugenio Burgio, "I volgarizzamenti oitanici della Bibbia nel XIII secolo. Un bilancio sullo stato delle ricerche", *Critica del testo* 7 (2004), 1–40; and Pierre Nobel, *La Bible d'Acre. Genèse et Exode. Edition critique d'après les manuscrits BNF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 et Arsenal 521* (Besançon, 2006), p. xxxii. According to Paul Meyer, the adaptation of Judges may have been written after 1179 (see his review of H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, Berlin, 1888, in *Romania* 18 [1889], p. 523).

<sup>19</sup> Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Paris, 1274. Un point de repère pour dater la 'Bible (française) du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle'", *La Bibbia del XIII secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi*, ed. Giuseppe Cremonesi and Francesco Santi, *Millennio Medievale* 49 (Florence, 2004), pp. 35–46. Clive R. Sneddon, *A Critical Edition of the Four Gospels in the Thirteenth-Century Old French Translation of the Bible*, D.Phil. Diss., Oxford, 1978; Anne Wanono, *La "Bible en français. Une traduction médiévale de la Vulgate. Edition critique des Livres de Judith et d'Esther dans la Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle"*, Thèse de Doctorat Nouveau Régime, Paris, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, décembre 2001. The *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* is also discussed in Margriet Hoogvliet's essay in this volume, where she uses the term, *Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

English victory at the battle of Poitiers and the captivity of King John II in 1356 put a stop to all the royal projects.<sup>20</sup>

The fourth undertaking was led by the famous Raoul of Presles, a translator at the royal court. Commissioned by John II's son, King Charles V, who ruled between 1364 and 1380, Raoul took up the torch and finally delivered a supposedly authentic translation. He codified the principles of his new version in his dedication to the king,<sup>21</sup> but at the time of his death in 1382 he had only reached chapter 19 of the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>22</sup> Summarised in this way, the story appears simple: the royal Acre Bible offered a paraphrase; it was superseded by the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, which was closer to a translation, then John of Sy rehabilitated the paraphrase, before his successor, encouraged by Charles V, resumed translating. This story, however, is wrong. The four undertakings just described all followed in the slipstream of the *Glossa ordinaria*, which remained the working tool of all the readers of and commentators on the Latin Bible. They kept non-biblical additions, and even at times, partial commentaries. Raoul of Presles did not hesitate to borrow from his contemporary, the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (†1349).<sup>23</sup> More importantly, all four undertakings were dependent on the *Historia scholastica*.

#### GUIART'S *BIBLE HISTORIALE*

The *Historia scholastica* was adapted for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French-speaking readers by Guiart des Moulins, under the name *Bible historique*.<sup>24</sup> It is known that Guiart des Moulins was born in June 1251 in

<sup>20</sup> BnF, MS fr. 15397. Due to the damages of time, only one of the projected twelve volumes has come down to us. See François Avril's note in *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris 1981–82), n° 280, pp. 325–26.

<sup>21</sup> Raoul of Presles' prologue was edited in Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au Moyen Âge. Etude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrites en prose de langue d'oïl* (Genève, 1967, first ed., Paris, 1884), pp. 245–47.

<sup>22</sup> Eugenio Burgio evoked the possibility that an anonymous reviser may have taken over from Raoul of Presles as early as 1 Mcc 14 ("Volgarizzamenti", p. 2, n.4).

<sup>23</sup> Berger, *Bible*, pp. 247–48, 251.

<sup>24</sup> "Here begins the Bible historique, or scholastic Histories. Here is the prologue written by he who transposed this book from Latin into French...I am called Guiart des Moulins" (from this point, I will use the text of BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 613, written for Niccolo III d'Este, c. 1432, fol. 1: "Ci commence la bible hystoriaus ou les hystoires escholastes. Cest li prohemmes de celui qui mist cest livre de latin en francois". This is the title given by Guiart to the first introductory piece of his "Second version": Bénédicte Michel, *La "Bible historique" de Guiart des Moulins: Edition critique de la Genèse*, PhD Diss., Dijon, 2004, p. 985.

Flanders and that he died ca. 1322.<sup>25</sup> He cannot in any way be linked either to the confraternity of jongleurs of Notre Dame of Arras, as some have suggested, nor to the circle of the Count of Flanders. His degree of cultured sophistication, however, speaks for itself, and we can assume that he was probably trained at that great font of knowledge which was the University of Paris. Between 1291 and 1295, Guiart says: "I translated the historical books of the Bible from Latin into Romance ... so that the laity can understand them."<sup>26</sup> "Historical books", that is, the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor, whom Guiart calls the "Master of Histories". The title chosen by Guiart for his book recalled for his contemporary readers a particular level of interpretation, the *historia* (or the "historical" sense), which depended on the association between words and things, and which was the basis for the moral or allegorical interpretation. The *historia* called for the reconstitution of a past reality in a way that could be immediately apprehended and realized by readers in the present and in the future; it restored the structure of the society that produced the ancient text. Whether this text was sacred or profane was immaterial: the process was the same. Guiart took over Peter Comestor's project. Between 1168 and 1176, Comestor had described the *Historia scholastica* to the archbishop of Sens as a history book that was as useful as it was entertaining.<sup>27</sup> According to Guiart des Moulins, the first *Bible historiale* was completed in February 1295.<sup>28</sup> However, Guiart did not aim to retell all of biblical history any more than had Peter Comestor. In the first version, he limited himself to the books

<sup>25</sup> Guiart was a regular canon of Aire, an Abbey that was founded in 1059 in the diocese. The town is now located in the French *département* of Pas-de-Calais: Jules Rouyer, "Recherches historiques sur le chapitre et l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre d'Aire" in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie* 10 (1860 for 1858), p. 65. On Guiart's death around 1322, see Roger Berger, "Dignitaires et chanoines du Chapitre Saint-Pierre d'Aire", *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie* 22 (1973), p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Barb. lat. 613, fol. 2vb.

<sup>27</sup> In his preface dedicated to William of the White Hands, Archbishop of Sens 1168–1176, Peter Comestor claimed to be writing at the request of his "companions", probably canons from Notre Dame Cathedral and from the abbey of Saint Victor in Paris. He intended to help them in their endeavour to seek out historical truth, but also to bring them new material which would be agreeable to hear and yet soothing (Sylwan, *SH Gn*, p. 3).

<sup>28</sup> "En lan de grace mil II cens IIIxx et XI ou mois de iuing el quel je sui nes, et a .XL ans acomplis comencai je ces translations. Et les oy parfaites en lan de grace MCCCIII<sup>xx</sup> et XIII ou mois de fevrier" (Barb. lat. 613, f. 1va; see also the end of the gloss, fols. 21rb–va): "I began working on these translations in the year of grace 1291, in the month of June when I turned 41, and I finished the work in February of the year of grace 1294, that is to say 1295 new style". Rosemarie Potz McGerr, "Guiart Desmoulins, The Vernacular Master of Histories, and his *Bible historiale*", *Viator* 14 (1983), 211–244.

already dealt with by Comestor, that is to say the chronological series of the Octateuch (from Genesis to Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth) and the four books of Kings. To this first group, he added pieces which Master Peter had omitted, the abbreviated Proverbs and an abbreviation of the book of Job (entitled the “short Job” in later manuscripts). He then returned to his source with a summary of the Babylonian captivity according to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, Judith and Esther (both of these two books dealing with stories from the Hellenistic period), Maccabees and, finally, the beginning of the New Testament history, a text which both Peter and Guiart presented in the form of a harmonization of the Four Gospels.<sup>29</sup> Surprisingly, Guiart took no account of Peter of Poitiers’ additions to the *Historia scholastica*. This first version can be characterised by what it omitted: Acts, the Epistles and the Apocalypse; it did not yet include the preface written in 1297, the tables of contents and the specific version of the second book of the Maccabees which was later inserted. Shortly afterwards, a reviser, disturbed by the omission of the Acts, borrowed a version of this text from the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, with the addition of a few unusual passages preserved in one London manuscript. This first version of 1295 had a limited diffusion, surviving in only six manuscripts, all from the counties of Flanders and Hainault, between Ghent, Tournai and Mons, and all quite late in date.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE SECOND VERSION OF THE *BIBLE HISTORIALE*

No sooner had he completed his book, than Guiart des Moulins started work on a second version, which was published in 1297, probably in Paris, where booksellers and their workshops informed the taste which

<sup>29</sup> A table of the contents of the *Historia scolastica* can be found in Sylwan, *SH Gn*, pp. xiv–xviii.

<sup>30</sup> KBR, MS II. 987 (olim Phillipps 379–1; Hainaut / Tournai, ca. 1350), Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 312 (copied s. xiv<sup>2</sup> for a family from Arles, decorated in the Hainault in 1440); New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 129 (Tournai, 1465–1470); Turin, Biblioteca nazionale, MS L.L.1 (Ghent, c. 1470–1475; identical to KBR and Beinecke MSS), BnF, MS fr. 152 (Thérouanne area, 1347, but copied in several stages; it is “unique illustrated witness” of the primitive version, according to Fournié); Jena, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS Gall. Fol. 95–96 (Mons, ca. 1465–1473). I have used the lists compiled by Michel (*La Bible historiale*, pp. 231–239) and Éléonore Fournié (“Catalogue des manuscrits de la *Bible historiale* [1/3]”, <http://acrh.revues.org/index1467.html>, consulted 07 October, 2011); both Michel and Fournié used the pioneering and regrettably unpublished thesis of Akiko Komada, *Les illustrations de la Bible Historiale: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord*, PhD Diss., Paris, Université Paris IV, 2000.

triumphed everywhere in western Europe at the time of King Philip the Fair (1285–1314).<sup>31</sup> This second draft can be found in a manuscript copied and illuminated in Paris ca. 1310–15 (BnF, MS fr. 155), in three later manuscripts (BL, MSS Royal 19 D.iii, a Parisian copy dated 1411–12; Royal 15 D.i and Royal 18 D.ix-x copied and decorated in Bruges in 1470–79), and presumably in a fourth manuscript whose origin has not been established.<sup>32</sup> In this 1297 version, Guiart went back to the traditional approach of the schools: he physically separated the biblical text and Peter Comestor's gloss by using two different scripts, stating "It must be known that ... I first wrote the biblical text in a large script and then I followed with the Histories in a finer script."<sup>33</sup> He enlarged his *Bible historiale*, but still omitted the Sapiential books (apart from Proverbs and Job) and the Prophets.<sup>34</sup> He updated some content, rejecting the anonymous version of Acts and substituting his own version.<sup>35</sup> Guiart seems to have thought of his book as extending in time to include the triumph of the Church: in his second version, he kept apocryphal texts describing the outrageous deaths of Pilate and Judas, the Invention of the Holy Cross by Saint Helena, the mother of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and the death of Julian

<sup>31</sup> See *L'Art au temps des Rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*, Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, mars-juin 1998 (Paris, 1998).

<sup>32</sup> Formerly Cheltenham, Collection Phillips, MS 302 (France, beginning of the fifteenth century?; not yet localised); see A. Komada, 2000.

<sup>33</sup> "Ci doit on savoir que iai... escript le tiexte de la bible premiereement de grosse lettre et puis apres en ordre les hystoires de plus deliee lettre", Barb. lat. 613, fol. 2vb; "Si ai le texte de le partie del euangille escript premiereement de grosse lettre et puis chou que li maistres en dit sus en histoire, de deliee lettre. Et se ie truis pau a exposer sour le partie del euangille, iou l'expose en gloze, et se g'i truis molt a exposer, g'i l'expose en ordene apres le texte, de plus deliee lettre, ainsi comme uous uerres el traictiet", Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 312, fol. 188r, introduction to the Gospels, quoted by Berger, *Bible française*, p. 172.

<sup>34</sup> Michel, *La Bible historiale*, pp. 254 and 280. Guiart updated the general table placed at the beginning of the book, added a table of chapters, a long preface which he himself dated 1297, introduced his own version of Acts, a series of "introductory pieces" and apocryphal pieces. These pieces are: a) the preface "C'est li prohemies de celi... Pour ce que li deables..."; b) the chronological notice "En l'an de grace..."; c) Peter Comestor's letter to the archbishop of Sens "C'est une lettre que li Maistres en Histoires...A honnorable pere et son cher seigneur Guillaume..."; d) the translator's letter "Ci doit on savoir que j'ai traduit..."; e) the Prologue modelled on Comestor "En palais de roy..."; f) and finally tables, one mentioning the presence of Acts, and the second the chapter titles. The apocryphal texts (*Traité de la Vraie Croix, Vie de Judas, Vie de Pilate*) can be found in BL, MS Royal 19 D.iii.

<sup>35</sup> Including the prologue of Acts (Acts 1.1), omitted by Peter of Poitiers: "O tu, Theophilus, j'ai parlé des choses que Jhesus commencha a faire en son tamps, c'est-à-dire quant il fu el siecle corporeillement" (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 312, after Berger, *Bible française*, pp. 161 and 175); "O tu theophile, ie ai premiereement parle de toutes les choses que ihesus commencha a faire et a enseigner descendi au iour quil commanda par le saint esperit a ses apostres" (Barb. Lat. 613, fol. 608va).

the Apostate, the emperor who reverted to paganism.<sup>36</sup> The explanation seems to be that Guiart conceived his *Bible historiale* as a direct contribution to the narrative of the history of the people of Israel and of the known world up until the first expansion of the Christian Church.

#### GUIART AFTER GUIART: THE *BIBLE HISTORIALE COMPLÉTÉE*

The book rapidly escaped the control of its author. Another life began for the *Bible historiale*, which Samuel Berger labelled the *Bible historiale complétée*. Around 1312–14, a third version began to circulate. Guiart seems to have left his book in the care of a Parisian bookseller, who abolished the formal distinction between the biblical text and the Master of Histories' gloss (without however altering Guiart's foreword discussing this). He also discarded the apocryphal narratives and deliberately combined Guiart's work with the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, specifically retaining the "short Job".<sup>37</sup> From this point, the new *Bible historiale complétée* began to take shape. Its copies can be divided into four main types (*Petite, Moyenne, Grande Bible historiale complétée* and *Grande Bible historiale complétée à Prologues*). Around 1317, a Parisian team produced a *Petite Bible historiale complétée*, a sort of fourth version. In the generation after Guiart's death, the *Bible historiale* was quickly divided into two distinct volumes. Respecting Guiart's original text, the first volume was dedicated to the Old Testament histories that he had borrowed from Peter Comestor. The second volume took the form of an almost complete translation of the Bible from Proverbs to the Apocalypse. The six most important surviving manuscripts of this version are all of Parisian origin<sup>38</sup> and Paris is certainly the place where this fourth version was produced and sold.<sup>39</sup> Acts from the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* was

<sup>36</sup> Guiart exercised the same freedom as Jehan Malkaraume or the author of BnF, MS fr. 763 (*La Bible anonyme du Ms. Paris, B.n.F. fr. 763*, ed. Julia C. Szirmai [Amsterdam, 1985]).

<sup>37</sup> One witness only: London, BL, MS Royal 1 A.xx (Paris, 1312, copied by Robert of Marchia. A description at <http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat>, consulted 07, October, 2011).

<sup>38</sup> Bodl., MS Douce 211–212 (Paris, 1300–1325); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.433 (Paris, XIV<sup>1/4</sup>); BnF, MS Fr. 160 (Paris, c 1310); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, MS H 49 (Paris, 1312–1317); Edinburgh, Library, MS 19 (Paris, 1314); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5059 (Paris, 1317; Jean de Papeleu).

<sup>39</sup> *Petite Bible historiale* = twenty-three manuscripts. (Michel counted seventeen manuscripts of the *Petite Bible historiale* that included Genesis [*La Bible historiale*, p. 990]). The first copy by John of Papeleu can be found in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5059, dated 1317, which Clive Sneddon refuses to see as a copy stemming from London, BL, MS Royal 1.A.xx. Concerning manuscript production in Paris, see Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout, 2000).

substituted for Guiart's version; the texts of the Psalms, Prophets, Epistles and the Apocalypse that the same *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* had imposed on previous versions were inserted as well. From the second quarter of the fourteenth century when the Papacy settled in Avignon for the foreseeable future, French-speaking patrons and buyers required more complete Bibles, transforming the market for them.

Since the work of Samuel Berger, it has become common to speak of the *Bible historiale complétée moyenne* (*BHcm*). This terse description refers to a fifth version, represented by a group of twenty-two manuscripts, often still in one volume, among which A. Komada and B. Michel identified and inventoried a singular family which they called  $\gamma_3$ .<sup>40</sup> The prototype for this group may be the manuscript dated 1356–7, BL, MS Royal 17 E.vii. The booksellers, influenced by Parisian taste, augmented and changed its content: the longer text of Job was inserted, replacing the short version, and paraphrases were increasingly replaced by authentic translations. Contemporaneously with the *Bible historiale moyenne*, other attempts were being made. One is typically French: in the years before 1332, John of Vignay translated into French Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* under the title *Miroir historial*. The historical convergence of the two works, which take their inspiration from the same source, shows what was of interest to contemporary readers: they reinforce each other and become two examples of a historical encyclopedia which were no longer for use by scholars, but rather by lay people.<sup>41</sup> Another author, working in territory of the Holy Roman Empire, chose Latin as his medium: around 1324, he perfected his *Speculum humanae salvationis*, probably intended for a confraternity linked to the Dominican convent in Strasbourg. The influence of the *Bible historiale* is faint in this work, but the ambitions of the

<sup>40</sup> Twenty-two manuscripts of the *BHcm*, according to Komada and Michel. Here are the ten manuscripts in the  $\gamma_3$  group of *BHcm*: BL, MS Add. 15247 (Paris, xiv<sup>2/4</sup> ?); BnF, MS fr. 2 (Paris, ca. 1350–70); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 9 (Paris, ca. 1330–45); BnF, MS fr. 164 (France, xiv<sup>4/4</sup>); BL, MS Royal 17 E.vii (Paris, 1357); The Hague, Koninklijk Bibliotheek, MS 78 D 43 (Paris, ca. 1370–80); BnF, MSS fr. 161–162 (Paris, ca. 1350–70; copied by Geufroi Godion); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Philipps fol. 1906 (Paris, 1368); Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Houghton Library, FMS Typ 555 (Paris, 1373; copied by Raoulet of Orléans); Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 1 (Paris, 1360–70). Related to this group is the Great augmented Bible historiale of Niccolo III d'Este, BAV, Cod. Barberini lat. 613 (Ferrara or Lombardy, ca. 1432–34).

<sup>41</sup> Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, *The 'Miroir historial' of Jean le Bon. The Leiden Manuscript and its Related Copies*, PhD Diss. (Leiden, 1988). Laurent Brun and Mattia Cavagna have announced an edition of the *Miroir historial* for the Société des Anciens Textes Français. A good bibliography can be found online at [http://www.arlima.net/il/jean\\_de\\_vignay.html#his](http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_de_vignay.html#his), consulted 07, November, 2011.

anonymous Strasbourg author soon found an echo in the upper echelons of society. Before 1330, a luxury copy of the text was produced in Avignon, and the number of Latin copies increased before the wave of translations into vernacular languages in the fifteenth century. In French, the translation by Jean Miélot, who worked for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, appeared in 1448.<sup>42</sup> Thereafter such work followed one of two directions: one led to illustrations being used as the main means of communication (the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and the *Bibliae pauperum*), the other consolidated and perpetuated the domination of the biblical text under the aegis of the "Master of Histories".

The sixth version of the *Bible historiale* acquired most of its features at the beginning of John II the Good's reign, as early as the 1350s, and took its mature form during Charles V's reign. The appearance of the original work was maintained, but the contents were now spread over two volumes. The main characteristic of this version is the massive addition of books borrowed from the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. The whole Psalter was inserted, as well as the Sapiential Books, Chronicles and possibly the Prophets, Nehemiah and Ezra.<sup>43</sup> The Norman litanies which had been introduced in the second version (following the Psalter) can still be found in the Bible, BnF, MS fr. 2, but they were gradually replaced by Parisian litanies.<sup>44</sup> Even if some Bibles straddle both groups of the *petite* and *moyenne Bible historiale*, it is reasonable to speak of a *Grande Bible historiale complétée* (GBhc).<sup>45</sup> This version seems to have appeared in the Parisian circles which, in 1372, produced the most representative example of this group for King Charles V (The Hague, Museum Meermann-West, MS 10 B 23). It was widely disseminated, and forty-six copies are still in existence.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Concerning the Avignon manuscript, *Immagini di San Francesco in uno "Speculum humanae salvationis" del Trecento: Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana 55.K.2*, ed. Chiara Frugoni and Francesca Manzari, Biblioteca di Frate Francesco. Provincia romana dei Frati minori 1 (Padua, 2006). About the translations, see [http://www.arlima.net/qt/speculum\\_humanae\\_salvationis.html](http://www.arlima.net/qt/speculum_humanae_salvationis.html), consulted 07, November, 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Berger, *Bible française*, p. 212; Komada, *Les illustrations*, p. 535; and Michel, *La Bible historiale*, p. 324.

<sup>44</sup> For the addition of 1–2 Chr, Ezr and Neh, see Berger, *Bible française*, pp. 190–92, 212 and 216; Michel, *La Bible historiale*, p. 324. Compare the litanies in BAV, Barb. lat. 613, fol. 333vb.

<sup>45</sup> They are characterised by the presence of two joint translations for the Epistle of Paul to Titus and the traditional glossed version of the Apocalypse. Others associated the two joint translations of Titus with a composite version of the Apocalypse. Some *Bibles moyennes* only present the two versions of Titus and the A version (unglossed) of the Apocalypse.

<sup>46</sup> Forty-six manuscripts. This phase was described by Fournié, *Les manuscrits*, § 73 (<http://acrh.revues.org/index1408.html>, consulted 07, November, 2011). A comparison



The book created by Guiart des Moulins, however, had not completed its trajectory. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, its example had been followed by translations into other European languages. Some time before that, a reworking of the *Bible historiale* in Old Dutch had appeared (*Historiebijbel*); another version was produced in 1360–1 (“Bijbel van 1360”): its creators adopted the page layout of the time, following the exact model of the *Grande Bible historiale complétée*.<sup>47</sup> Version after version, the Dutch paraphrases gradually diverged from the *Bible historiale*.<sup>48</sup> They were much emulated. At this point the brilliant history of the middle-German *Historienbibeln* began; ninety-seven manuscripts of this version have been inventoried.<sup>49</sup> This is however another story, which has of yet scarcely been investigated. In the first decades of the fifteenth century, a final version of the *Bible historiale* appeared. Its most obvious characteristic, the insertion of prologues before some of the biblical books, determined the name adopted by scholars, the *Grande Bible historiale à Prologues*. This version, by far the most sumptuous, saw the addition of prologues, written either by John of Blois, a master of theology at the University of Paris, or by less well-known masters, such as Pierre Arranchel, a canon of Lausanne. Among other distinctive features, it definitively replaced paraphrases with authentic translations, choosing the original version of the Epistle to Titus and an unglossed version of the Apocalypse.<sup>50</sup>

It is time now to take stock of this complex adventure. First of all, what was Guiart des Moulins’ objective? The most widely accepted hypothesis is that he thought the translation known as the *Bible du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* was

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between the series of the *Bibles historiques* and that of the “illustrated Bibles” (“bibles en images”) remains to be done. What are for instance the common characteristics of the *Grand Bibles historiques* and a famous Bible from Padua (BL, MS Add. 15277, c. 1390–1400, Padua: cf. *Bibbia Istoriata Padovana dell fine del trecento*, ed. Neri Pozza [Venice, 1962])?

<sup>47</sup> As for instance in BL, MS Add. 15310 (SW Limburg, 1462), which measures 380 × 265 mm (justification 240/250 × 175 mm); 2 columns of 50 lines each.

<sup>48</sup> According to J. Deschamps (*Middel nederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken* [Leiden, 1972], p. 153), a 1458 version gives the Pentateuch, Jo, Jgs, Ruth, 1–4 Rg, Tb, Job, Prv, Eccl, Sg, Ws, Sir, Dn, Esther, Jth, and 1–2 Mc according to the Vulgate, whereas Ezekiel, Habakkuk and Ezra are borrowed from the *Historia scholastica*.

<sup>49</sup> They are currently being inventoried by the *Handschriftencensus*: <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/>, consulted 07, November, 2011; the *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*, ed. Hella Fruhmorgen-Voss, Norbert H. Ott and Ulrike Bodemann, vol. 7 (Munich, 2008), is dedicated to the *Historienbibeln*.

<sup>50</sup> Here, I follow Clive R. Sneddon’s hypotheses (*A Critical Edition*), admirably summarised by Burgio, “Volgarizzamenti”, pp. 14–15.

inadequate, and tried to replace it.<sup>51</sup> In fact, his work streamlined and modernized the work of the mid-thirteenth-century translators, rather than creating something new, as may be seen by comparing the text of Genesis in both versions. (Appendix 1). Things became more complex as time went by, since the successive revisers of the *Bible historiale* up to the sixth version did not treat all the books the same way, and one can say throughout the fifteenth century, there are as many different Old French Bibles as there are manuscripts. The history of the *Bible historiale* can therefore not be reduced to the stated intentions of its creator. The extremely wide dissemination of the model Guiart created and the diversity of the copies through time and space is also striking. Art historians once felt compelled routinely to ascribe to Paris the most lavish illuminated books of the fourteenth century. This idea, which is nowadays no longer acceptable for art historians, should not be so readily perpetuated by textual historians. Certainly, a Parisian origin for the books produced for the French royal family seems conceivable, but the constant travels of masters and their disciples between Rome, Prague, London, Paris and Avignon in the second third of the fourteenth century mean that prudence is required. Of the two first versions conceived by Guiart or under his direct control, ten manuscripts have come down to us, and only one can be safely said to have been made in Paris and during Guiart's lifetime (BnF, MS fr. 155, Paris, 1310–15). The structure of this manuscript is intriguing, since the addition of a painted Apocalypse at an early date (ff. 192–206) may have been an attempt to link the new *Bible historiale* with the Anglo-French tradition of Apocalypses. The other copies of Guiart's first two versions are much later in date, from around 1345 up to the 1470s. These already antiquated and outdated texts were copied unquestioningly. Their language was simply updated, their decoration brought into line with current tastes, and occasionally a more recent element was added to the whole. These versions obviously targeted a northern audience, within a triangle defined by London, Tournai and Paris, and they confirm the well-known dynamism of communications on either side of the North Sea. They crossed neither the Rhine nor the Loire (one single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 312, may have reached the south of the French royal kingdom by the end of the fourteenth century).

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<sup>51</sup> François Avril, "Bible historiale de Jean de Papeleu", *L'Art au temps des Rois maudits. Philippe le Bel et ses fils, 1285–1328*. Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, mars-juin 1998 (Paris, 1998), n° 187, p. 280.

The *Petite Bible historiale complétée* is represented by twenty-four manuscripts, all rather large in size (height + width = 700 mm on average). They seem to have been produced over a much shorter period of time, between 1310 and 1350 (with the exception of the mutilated manuscript in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS L.I.12), an indication that readers and patrons swiftly found this version unsatisfactory and asked for a better one. From what we know, however, their origin is very concentrated, since they came from Parisian workshops: one workshop produced five important manuscripts between 1310 and 1317, while that of Jean de Papeleu was responsible for creating four manuscripts between around 1317 and 1333. The *Bible historiale complétée moyenne* can be found in twenty-two manuscripts, created between 1320 and 1432, with a strong concentration around the years 1356–1370, a period during which the English kings, probably as the result of the fortunes of war, acquired several major copies which were kept in their library. The *Grande Bible historiale complétée*, which has a more uniform structure, was repeatedly copied over a very long period of time, as reflected in forty-seven manuscripts extending in date from ca. 1350 to ca. 1510; these tend to be assigned a Parisian origin too readily, without any attempt to localize manuscripts based on characteristic additions and modifications (a scribe from Provence seems to have been responsible for some interpolations). The *Grande Bible historiale complétée à Prologues* complements it, and survives in twelve manuscripts,<sup>52</sup> almost all of which were produced in Paris between 1400 and 1420. It is quite possible that, at the time, one of the Paris workshops decided to specialise in the production of *Bibles historiques* – at least before they were decorated: I have found, for example, two manuscripts which are certainly from Paris with identical ruling.<sup>53</sup>

The material history of the *Bible historiques* shows that their size remained relatively similar between the first versions and the *Grande Bible historiale à Prologues*, their height+width dimensions ranging between 600 and 700 mm, while, with the exception of the copies produced in

<sup>52</sup> Except Cambrai, BM, MSS 398–400 (Northern France? xiv<sup>3/4</sup>), BL, MS Royal 19 D.iii (Clairefontaine, Chartres diocese?, 1411) and Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, MSS 985–986 (Geneva? 1458–62).

<sup>53</sup> In particular in BnF, MS fr. 3 and BL, MS Royal 19 D.iii (copied by Thomas du Val, professed canon of the abbey of Clairefontaine in the diocese of Chartres, 1411, but who could have been working in a Parisian workshop, which would reduce to nothing the thesis of an ecclesiastical origin and/or destination for the latter manuscript).

Flanders for the English royal family, their decoration became progressively more limited throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>54</sup> While the books could be reproduced rapidly from the 1430s, the number of potential patrons was increasing; they wanted large-scale books, but some of them were not so demanding about the quality of the decoration or even about the modernity of the text. Appearances can be deceiving. For over a century, each of the versions was revised, adapted and updated, and each biblical book had its own textual tradition. The same owner could commission several manuscript copies of various formats and containing different stages of the text. For example, before his death at the battle of Agincourt in 1415 Charles of Albret owned two *Bibles historiques* which have come down to us: one of the first examples of the *Petite Bible historique complétée*, and one *Grande Bible historique complétée à Prologues*.<sup>55</sup> If the successive revisions are taken to mean that each version was modernized, the increasing fidelity to the biblical text and the efforts made gradually to prune back the glosses and interferences within the sacred text illustrate this modernity. The rubrics indicating the beginning of a gloss and the return to the text disappeared, except in late copies of the primitive versions. The scribes then tentatively removed the indications carefully inserted by Guiart, as early as his second version, to signal interpolations. Some fifteenth-century creators of *Bibles historiques* decided to look back to previous practices. Niccolò III d'Este's *Grande Bible historique complétée* (1432–34) is a good example: a full translation of the Apocalypse is given, without a gloss (as was the standard practice of workshops in the second half of the fourteenth century) but the scribe who copied several other books re-introduced glosses with rubrics.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> More research needs to be done on three homogeneous sets: Papeleu's group, Duke John of Berry's group, and the manuscripts belonging to the γ3 family.

<sup>55</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5059 (Paris, 1317; copied by John of Papeleu and illuminated by Richard of Verdun; 410 × 290 mm; Fournié, no. 120), and St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, MS fr. 1 (Paris, 1350–55; circle of Jean Pucelle; 450 × 320 mm; Fournié, no. 130).

<sup>56</sup> Both BnF, MS fr. 10 and BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 613 present an almost identical text of the Apocalypse, with only minor spelling variations, which are nothing more than modernizations. It is now known that the creators of *Bibles historiques* could select one of three versions of the Apocalypse; they often elected a glossed prose text (see Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Bibl. nat. Fr. 403]. *Introduction et texte* [Paris, 1901], pp. ccxviii–ccix), but occasionally opted for another, unglossed text, disseminated in two different versions, A (pp. ccxxvii–ccxxviii) and C (pp. ccxli–ccxlv), while giving way for a third, composite version, which combined an unglossed text for the first 11 chapters of the Apocalypse and a glossed text for chapters 11, 15–22.

## CONCLUSION

Here then is the story – a fascinating one for the historian to tell – of a text which underwent many developments; and it is practically never-ending, since it flows naturally into the stories of the *Historiebijbel* and the *Historienbibel*. Some questions remain, which cannot be answered at present. How can the geographic concentration of the French *Bible historiale* be explained? Why did the Provençaux and the Neapolitans, who spoke Romance languages and who were so close to the Capetian monarchy in the first half of the fourteenth century, show so little enthusiasm for the *Bible historiale*, while the Angevin kings and princes acquired copies of the *Bible moralisée*? Why did Guiart's *Bible historiale* not prove attractive to the Italians, at a time when a late courtly literature was sweeping through the Po valley and the Franco-Venetian lands? Why was it felt necessary, as time went by, to try and disguise the French *Bible historiale* to give it the appearance of uniformity, when any reader can rapidly discover it is nothing but a dreadful patchwork? How can the surprising prevalence of these *Bibles historiques* over Bibles in French be explained? It is well-known that around 1380 Philip of Mézières advised the young King Charles VI to read the whole Bible every year, as his father used to do: was he not in fact urging him to read the *Bible historiale*, whose numbers began to increase in the second half of the fourteenth century, and which became commonplace on the shelves of the French princes? And why did early specimens of this Bible come to be reused in the fifteenth century, even if their contents had to be reorganised? Was there a desire to bring forgotten sources back to light and to reactivate the distinction between text and gloss which had become blurred since the thirteenth century? What remains is the tremendous fame of the *Bible historiale*, within and without the boundaries of the Romance languages; it deserves more than the blind faith in the descriptions of the great Samuel Berger. What it requires today is a global study which would make use of all the techniques described in the pages of the present volume.

## APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE TEXTS

## Gn 18.26–19.8

<i>Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> , ed. Quéreuil, p. 191	<i>Bible d'Acre</i> , ed. Nobel, p. 21	<i>Bh</i> , 1st/2nd ed., ed. B Michel, p. 654	<i>GBhc</i> , Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 613 (Lombardy/ Ferrara, 1432–1434), fol. 22v
[18:26] Damedieux dist a lui : “Se je truis en Sodome .L. justes ou mileu de la cité, je pardonrai a tout le leu por euls.” [27] Abraham respondi : “Des que je ai coumencié, encore parlerai je a mon Seingneur, ja soit ce que je sui poudre et cendre. [28] Et s’il i a .V. moins de .L. justes, effaceras tu toute la cité por les . XLV. ?” Dieux dist : “Je ne la destruirai pas se je i truis .XLV. justes.” [29] Abraham parla derechief a lui : “Et s’il ne i a trouvé que .XL., que feras tu ?” Il dist : “Je ne les destruire pas por les .XL.” [30] “Sire, dist	[18:26] Nostre Sires respondi a Abraham : “Se je truis en la cité .L. justes, a toz les autres espareigneray por eaus.” [27] Donc dist Abraham : “Com je see poudre et cendre, je parlerai encores a Mon Seignor”, et dist : [28] “Se il en y a .XLV. ?” - Por les .XLV. les espareignerai. [29] Et se l’on y treuve . XL. ?” “Por les .XL. espareignerai.” [30] “Et .XXX. ?” “Por les .XXX. les espareignerai.” [31] – “Et .XX. ?” - “Por les .XX. les espareignerai” [32] “Et .X. ?” - “Por les .X. les espareigneray.” [18:33] Quant Abraham ot tant parlé, si s’en torna.	18:26] Nostre Sires li dist : se je truis entre les Sodomes .I. justes, jou deporterai le lieu pour aus. [27] Abraham dist : puis que j’ai conmenchié, je parlerai a men Seignour qui sui poure et chendre ! [28] Et s’il en i a .V. mains de .L., destruiras tu le chité pour .XLV. ? Il dist : naie, se j’en i truis .XLV. [29] Derechief dist Abraham: se tu i trueves .XL. justes, que feras tu ? Il dist : je ne destruirai mie pour les .XL. [30] Abraham dist : je te pri, Sire, que tu n’aies mie desdaig se je parole: et se tu i en trouvoie . XXX. ? Il respondi: je ne leur feroie nul mal, se je en i	[18:26] Nostre Sires li dist : Se je truis entre les Sodomites .I. justes, je deporterai tout le lieu pour euls. [27] Abraham dist : Puis que je ay conmenchié, je parlerai a mon Seigneur qui sui poure et cendre ! [28] Et se il en y a .V. mains de .L., destruiras tu la cité pour les .XLV. ? [29] Derechief dist Abraham: Et se tu en y treuves .XL. justes, que feras tu ? Il dist : je ne les destruirai mie pour les .XL. [30] Abraham dist : je te pri, Sire, que tu n’aies mie

(Cont.)

<i>Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. Quéreuil, p. 191</i>	<i>Bible d'Acre, éd. Nobel, p. 21</i>	<i>Bh, 1<sup>e</sup>/2<sup>e</sup> éd, ed. B. Michel, p. 654</i>	<i>GBhc, Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 613 (Lombardy/ Ferrara, 1432– 1434), fol. 22v</i>
Abraham, je te requiers que tu ne te corrouces pas se je parole ainsi : que feras tu se l'en n'i treuve que .XXX. justes ?" Il li respondi : "Je ne leur ferai nul mal se je i truis .XXX. justes." [31] "Des lors, dist Abraham, puis que je ai comencié, je parlerai a mon Seigneur : que feras tu s'il n'i a trouvé que .XX. justes ?" Il dist : "Je ne les destruirai pas pur les .XX." [32] "Sire, dist Abraham, ne te corrouces pas se je parole a toi encore une fois : que feras tu se l'en n'en treuve que .X. justes ?" Il dist : "Je ne les destruirai pas por les .X. justes."	[19:1] Et .II. angeles vindrent la nuit en Sodome au vespre. Et Loth ce seoit as portes de la cité. Quant il les vitsi se leva et ala encontre d'eaus, et aorra enclins en terre, [2] et dist : "Je vos pri, enfans, que vos venes chés moy herbergier. Demain yrés vostre chemin." Et il respondirent : "Non, ainz serons en la place." [3] Et il les proya durement <d'aler> o lui, et il y alerent. [4] Si lor apareilla a mangier, mais ansois qu'il alassent couchier, vindrent li hom de la cité et avironerent la meson, jeunes et viellars, grans pueples. [5] Et	trouvoie .XXX. [31] Abraham dist : encore parlerai jou a mon Seignour : se te en i trueves . XX., que feras tu ? Il dist : je ne les ochirai mie pour les .XX. [32] Je te pri, Sire, que tu ne te coureches mie, se je parole encore une fois : et se tu en i trueves .X. ? Il dist : je ne les destruirai mie pour les .X. [18:33] Dont quant nostre Sires eut laissé le parler a Abraham, il s'en ala et Abraham s'en repara a son lieu. [19:1] Dont vinrent li doi Angele [B] a Sodome au vespre, et Loth seoit as portes de le chité. Quant il les vit, il se leva et ala encontre eus et les aoura parfont en	desdaing se je parole: et se tu en y treuves .XXX., destruiras tu la cité pour les .XXX. ? [31] Abraham dist : encores parlerai je a mon Seigneur. Et se te en y treuves .XX., ? Il dist : je ne les occirai mie pour les .XX. [32] Je te pri que tu ne te courrouces mie, se je parole encorse une fois : et se tu en y treuves .X. ? Je ne les destruiray mie pour les .X. [18:33] Dont quant nostre Sires eut laissé le parler a Abraham, il s'en ala et

(Continued)

(Cont.)

<i>Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. Quéreuil, p. 191</i>	<i>Bible d'Acre, éd. Nobel, p. 21</i>	<i>Bh, 1<sup>e</sup>/2<sup>e</sup> éd, ed. B. Michel, p. 654</i>	<i>GBhc, Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 613 (Lombardy/ Ferrara, 1432– 1434), fol. 22v</i>
[18:33] Damedieux s'en ala puis qu'il ot lessié de parler a Abraham, et Abraham s'en retorna a son leu. [19:1] Li dui ange vindrent au vespre a Sodome, et Loth se seoit a la porte de la cité ; et quant il les vit, il se leva et leur ala a l'encontre, et les aora en terre, [2] et leur dist : "Seingneurs, je vos pri que vos tornez a la meson vostre serjant et demoréilec. Lavez vos piéz, et demain vos en iroiz en vostre voie." Il distrent : "Non ferons, ainz demorrons en ceste place." [3] Loth les contrainst d'aller en sa meson. Quant il furent	apelerent Loth et distrent : ensemble. Si apelerent Loth et li distrent: "Ou sont li home qui vindrent anuit o thei en ta meson de nuit ? Met les fors, nos les volons conoistre." [6] – "Non, por Deu, dist Loth, [7] non faites cest mal. [8] Je ai .ii. filles qui onques ne conurent home. Je les vos amenrai, si en faites vostre voloir."	tere, [2] et dist : je vous pri, seignour, que vous venés a le maison vo sergant et i demourés et i lavés vos piés, et demain irés vo voie. Il disent: non ferons, ains demourrons en le plache. [3] Dont leur pria il tant qu'il demourerent avoec lui et entrerent en se maison, et il quisi pain azime et il mangerent. [4] Et anchois qu'il alaissent couchier, li honme de le chité, et j one et viell, et tous li pules avironnerent le maison Loth. [5] Et apelerent Loth, et lui disent: sont ou sont li honme qui anuit sont a ti venu ? met les nous hors que	Abraham s'en repara en son lieu. [19:1] <b>Glose.</b> Dont vindrent li dui angre a Sodome qui avoient esté avec nostre seigneur et avec autre, ce dient aucun si trouverent Loth séant as portes de la cité qui attendoit et gardoit se aucuns hostes li venist que il peust herbergier. <b>Tiexte.</b> Dont vindrent li dui angre a Sodome, et Loth se seoit as portes de le cité. Quant il les vit, si s'esleva et ala a leur encontre et les aoura



(Cont.)

<i>Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. Quéreuil, p. 191</i>	<i>Bible d'Acre, éd. Nobel, p. 21</i>	<i>Bh, 1<sup>e</sup>/2<sup>e</sup> éd, ed. B. Michel, p. 654</i>	<i>GBhc, Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 613 (Lombardy/ Ferrara, 1432–1434), f.22v</i>
entrez en la meson, il leur appareilla a mangier et cuist pains alis, si mangierent. [4] Et ainz qu'il alassent couchier, li home de la ville avironnerent la meson, viel et jenne, tuit li pueple ensemble. [5] Si apelerent Loth et li distrent: "Ou sunt li home qui entrèrent en ta meson de nuit ? Amoine les nos ça, car nos les connoissons !" [6] Loth issi hors, si clost l'uis après soi, et leur dist :	nous les connissons! [6] Dont issi hors Loth et clost le huis après li, et dist: [7] ne voellés mie, frere, ne voellés, je vous pri, faire che mal. [8] J'ai .ii. filles qui onques ne connurent honme, je les vous amenrai, s'en faites vo volenté, par maniere que vous ne faichés nul mal a ches hnmes, car il sont entré en me maison. [B] <i>Dont vinrent li doi Angele</i> : Qui avoient esté avec nostre Seigneur, et autre avec, che dient aucun. Si trouverent Loth seant as portes de le chité qui atendoit et waitoit que aucuns ostes li venist qui il puist herbegier.	parfont en terre. [2] Et dist : Je vous pri, seignour, que vous veignies en la maison de vostre sergent et y demourez et lavez vos piés, et demain irés vostre voie. Il distrent: Non ferons ains, demourrons en la place. [3] Dont leur pria il tant qu'il demourerent avec lui et entrèrent en sa maison, et il cuist pain alis et mangierent. [4] Et ainçois qu'il alaissent couchier, li	

(Continued)

(Cont.)

<i>Bible française du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. Quéreuil, p. 191</i>	<i>Bible d'Acre, éd. Nobel, p. 21</i>	<i>Bh, 1<sup>e</sup>/2<sup>e</sup> éd, ed. B. Michel, p. 654</i>	<i>GBhc, Vatican, BAV, Barb. Lat. 613 (Lombardy/ Ferrara, 1432–1434), f.22v</i>
[7] "Seingneurs, je vos pri que vos ne faciez pas ce mal ; [8] je ai .ii. filles qui onques ne connurent compaingnies d'ome, je les vos amenerai ça, si en feroiz ce qu'il vos plera, mes que vos ne faciez mal a ces homes que je ai herbergiez en ma meson."			homme de la cité, et jonne et viel et tuit li peuple avironnerent la maison Loth [5] et appellerent Loth, et distrent: Ou sont li homme qui annuit sont venus a toi ? Met les nous hors que nous les cognoissons ! [6] Dont s'en issi hors Loth a euls, si clost l'uis après lui, et dist: [7] ne veulliez mie faire ce mal. [8] J'ai .ii. filles qui onques ne cognurent honme, je les vous amenrai, si en faites vostre volenté, par

(Cont.)

*Bible française du  
XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,  
éd. Quéreuil, p. 191*

*Bible d'Acre, éd.  
Nobel, p. 21*

*Bh, 1<sup>e</sup>/2<sup>e</sup> éd, ed. B.  
Michel, p. 654*

*GBhc, Vatican,  
BAV, Barb. Lat.  
613 (Lombardy/  
Ferrara,  
1432–1434), f.22v*

maniere que  
vous ne faciés  
nul mal a ces  
hommes.  
**Glose.** *Car il  
sont entré en  
ma maison.* La  
coustume des  
justes estoit de  
deffendre leurs  
hosteux de  
toutes ordures  
et ce que Loth  
leur  
abandonna ses  
.II. filles, ce fu  
pour  
destourbier de  
cuer ne mie en  
conseillant, car  
nuls ne doit  
faire pechié  
mortel n'en  
conseillant ne  
autrement  
pour autrui  
eschevez de  
plus grant  
peril. **Texte.**  
*Car il sont  
entré en ma  
meson.*



## MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE FOR THE PATRONAGE, OWNERSHIP AND USE OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE

Elizabeth Solopova

The Wycliffite Bible is the first full translation of the Vulgate into English, produced by the followers of the Oxford theologian John Wyclif (ca. 1324–1384) in the last third of the fourteenth century. The identity of the translators remains uncertain, but the project must have required the involvement of several academic translators and access to libraries, making Oxford a likely place for their work.<sup>1</sup> The translation survives in two versions, the Earlier Version, a literal rendering of the Latin text, and the Later Version, a more idiomatic revision, preserved in a much larger number of copies. The Wycliffite Bible was met with clerical opposition, resulting in the promulgation in 1409 under Archbishop Arundel of legislation prohibiting the making of new, and the use of any recent, translations without episcopal approval of both the version and the owner. This legislation remained in force until 1529, but did not prevent an exceptionally wide dissemination of the Wycliffite Bible. Much remains unknown about the circumstances of its production, ownership and use, but the information that comes to light, particularly as a result of the study of the surviving manuscripts, often contradicts a traditional view of its dissemination as a prohibited heretical text: the manuscripts attest to an established commercial production, liturgical use, and not only lay, but often clerical and sometimes institutional ownership.

In spite of censorship and the destruction of the Wycliffite texts throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Wycliffite Bible is preserved in around 250 copies.<sup>2</sup> A great majority of the manuscripts are professionally executed to a high standard, and there is evidence of both standardisation and customization, presumably aimed at the needs of individual patrons. Both are likely an outcome of a large-scale commercial production, though little is known about who commissioned the manuscripts

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<sup>1</sup> See “The translators” in Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 68–82.

<sup>2</sup> See the “Index of manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible” in Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 281–306.

in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or how they were used. The possession of the Bible in English was seen as evidence of Lollard sympathies and could result in a trial for heresy, ending in imprisonment or death.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, contemporary records relating to the dissemination and use of the translation were unlikely to survive, and indeed they are fairly rare. In this situation the manuscripts themselves remain an invaluable, and often the only, source of information. The current article gives new examples of the evidence they contain relating to the patronage, ownership and use of the Wycliffite Bible.

In many manuscripts the presentation of the text and the choice of accompanying materials suggest that a liturgical use may have been intended. These Bibles often contain liturgical materials, such as tables of lections, full lectionaries and calendars, and include detailed rubrics, explaining when and how the texts were read in the church.<sup>4</sup> A number of Bibles do not contain the full text of the biblical books, but instead include lections – passages from the biblical books read at Mass throughout the year.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Bodl., MS Bodley 665, written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, contains a complete New Testament, accompanied by a table of lections (with the readings listed in the table highlighted in the text) followed by Old Testament lections in a traditional liturgical order with the Temporale followed by the Proper of Saints, the Common of Saints and Commemorations. The lections are preceded by rubrics explaining when they were read and introductory statements such as “The lord seiþ þese þinges” which corresponds to “Hec dicit dominus” in the Sarum Missal.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the Sarum Old Testament readings for the Masses at Christmas from Isaiah, Bodley 665 contains a translation of *Laudes Deo* and a troped lesson from *Missa in gallicantu* according

<sup>3</sup> Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 157–68, and eadem, “Lollard Literature” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. II, 1100–1400, ed. Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 329–39; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 46–58.

<sup>4</sup> See “Liturgical use” in Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 58–67, and Matti Peikola’s essay in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> According to Dove, the text of the Old Testament Mass-lections (rather than full Old Testament books) is added to the New Testament in twenty-five manuscripts of the Bible, and the Old Testament lections are written in full within a table of lections in at least four others (*First English Bible*, p. 61).

<sup>6</sup> J. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916, repr. 1969). Such introductory statements occur in other manuscripts containing lections, rather than the full text of the biblical books, e. g. Bodl., MS Bodley 531, which has the Old Testament readings written out in full within the table of lections.

to the Sarum rite, based on the Vetus Latina text of Isaiah chapter nine (fols. 230v-231v).<sup>7</sup> According to the Sarum Missal, *Laudes Deo* is sung from the pulpit simultaneously by two clerics, whereas the lesson is sung by two voices *alternatim*.<sup>8</sup> The translation of this extract in Bodley 665 is preceded by a lengthy rubric in red explaining just this. The rubric tells that the “lesson” is performed in a troped form by two singers, one of whom sings the text from Isaiah and the other interpolates the trope. The part performed by the first singer is referred to as the “text”, whereas the trope is compared to a gloss on the text:

On cristemasse morewe þe firste lessoun at þe firste masse. þe whiche lesson is sungun in þe pulput / þe firste vers and þe laste of two to gidre / but alle þe myddil vers oon syngiþ oon : and anoþer syngiþ anoþer / þe firste vers of þo þat ben sungen bi hemsilf : is of þe tixte of Isaye þe profete. and þe answeare is as it were a glose of þe tixte / and so it is bi & bi þorȝout þe lessoun / of whiche þis is þe first vers : þat is sungen of boþe to gidre / Isaye ix<sup>o</sup> (fol. 230v)

The rubric is followed by “I schal seie preisynge to god þoruȝ worldis...,” a translation of “*Laudes deo dicam per saecula...*,” and another rubric announcing the beginning of the troped passage: “þis is þe firste vers of þo þat ben sungen of oon by hymself whiche is of þe texte.” In the text which follows, beginning “The lessoun of Isaye þe profete in þe whiche þe schynnyge birþe of crist is profetiede...” (a translation of “*Lectio Isaiae prophetae. In qua Christi lucida vaticinatur nativitas...*”) and ending “...alle creaturis sey so be it” (a translation of “...Amen dicant omnia”), the verses from Isaiah are underlined in red, whereas the interpolated trope is not. Thus “þe puple of folk þat walkide in derknesses” (“*Populus gentium qui ambulabat in tenebris*”) is underlined, whereas its continuation “whom þe enemye wiþ trecherous gile putte out of paradise” (“*quem fraude sub dola hostis expulit Paradiso*”) is not. As mentioned already, this is followed by the usual Old Testament reading from Isaiah chapter nine

<sup>7</sup> F. H. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum* (Burntisland, 1861–1883), cols. 50–51; see also an abbreviated version of the *Missa in gallicantu* in Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 26–7. This is discussed by Dove (*English Bible*, p. 64), but without identifying the translated passage. The reason why the translation of the text from Isaiah ch. 9 in the troped lesson differs from both the Later and Earlier Versions is that the Latin text itself, as used in *Missa in gallicantu*, is the Vetus Latina, rather than Vulgate text (see Roger Gryson, ed., *Esaías*, Vetus Latina 12, part I [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987], pp. 279–81).

<sup>8</sup> Sarum *Missa in gallicantu* with *Laudes Deo* and the lesson performed by two tenors is recorded by the Tallis Scholars, *Christmas with the Tallis Scholars* (Oxford: Gimell, 2003).

for *Missa in gallicantu* in the Later Version based on the Vulgate text, “þe puple þat zede in derknessis say a greet list....”

It is difficult to imagine that any of this would have been necessary if the book were intended only for private reading and study.<sup>9</sup> The troped passage does not require a special presentation in order to be understood; in fact the rubric and underlining make it more difficult to read, and would have been fully comprehensible only when it was performed. Bodley 665 is a small volume (ca. 176 × 118 mm), which could have been easily carried to a church service, as well as consulted in private. Since the passage could not have been part of the original translation of the Bible, this also demonstrates an effort to make liturgical materials available in the vernacular, in conjunction with the translation of the Bible.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to evidence that liturgical use may have been anticipated by the makers of the manuscripts, there are also indications suggesting that this actually took place. Bodl., MS Fairfax 2 is a complete Bible of a large size (ca. 426 × 285 mm). The Book of Psalms has the eight traditional liturgical divisions marked with larger initials. Typically for a Wycliffite Bible, the Psalms have Latin incipits which appear together with English titles before the beginning of each Psalm. The Psalms are followed by an abbreviated translation of the weekly and daily canticles, a full translation of the Athanasian Creed and a calendar/table of lections. In the calendar/table of lections the days of the months have the golden numbers and the dominical letters, followed by the names of feasts and saints days in English, and references to the readings for each day. These references consist of an abbreviated title of a biblical book, followed by a chapter number and index letter. The major Sarum feasts are in red.

Little is known about the medieval ownership of Fairfax 2, but there is evidence that it may have been in use in a church in the fifteenth century and after the Reformation. St Francis is added to the calendar/table of lections on 4 October in a fifteenth-century hand. According to Richard Pfaff, Francis is a unique example of an important Franciscan saint who became

<sup>9</sup> Dove (*First English Bible*, p. 63) refers to Henry Hargreaves' demonstration ("The Mirror of Our Lady, Aberdeen University Library MS. 134," *Aberdeen University Review* 42 [1968], 267–80, at pp. 277–80) that a passage discouraging the Bridgettine nuns at Syon from looking at translated scripture during the offices was probably added to the text of *The Mirror of our Lady*, and comments that the practice may have "become widespread and was perceived to be disruptive".

<sup>10</sup> This passage from *Missa in gallicantu* also occurs in BL, MS Harley 1029 and MS Harley 1710, which as Dove (*First English Bible*, p. 64 n. 136 and p. 65) remarks, look particularly like service-books, namely missal lectionaries.



“widely present in English secular liturgy.”<sup>11</sup> Textual divisions in the Psalter have references to the days of the liturgical week in Latin, added in the margins in a sixteenth-century hand; for example, *feria secunda*, appears next to Psalm 26, which was read first at Matins on Monday in the secular use. This may suggest that Fairfax 2 belonged to a secular church at the time when these additions were made, and possibly earlier. Institutional, rather than private ownership is also suggested by its very large size,<sup>12</sup> and the fact that the feast of Thomas Becket (29 December) was erased in the calendar/ table of lections. The titles *pape* were also erased throughout the calendar. These erasures provide a striking parallel to what is probably an altered date of the production of the manuscript, perhaps an earlier example of how the need to conform to ecclesiastical and secular legislation affected religious books. Famously, Fairfax 2 has a colophon “Pe eer of þe lord M. CCC[followed by erasure] & viii þis book was endid” (fol. 385r). The final digit in the date may have been erased to change it from 1408 to 1308 in order to avoid censorship by making the book appear pre-Wycliffite and therefore legal.<sup>13</sup>

Although essentially transmitting the same text or a group of texts surviving in multiple versions, the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible are very different, reflecting the fact that they were produced for a wide range of patrons. There is a considerable variation in size, from large to tiny, and in the degree of care and expense which went into an individual production. In addition there is also a considerable variation in the contents of the Bibles, and the choice of extra-biblical texts.<sup>14</sup> It seems that in many cases the scribes and stationers had access to multiple exemplars, as well as the

<sup>11</sup> Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 327.

<sup>12</sup> Though a large format of some Wycliffite Bibles suggests that they were intended for use on a lectern, it is currently unclear whether the lections were ever read publicly in English (see Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 64–65; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 199 and eadem, “Lollard book production” in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall [Cambridge, 1989], pp. 125–42, at pp. 131–32).

<sup>13</sup> Archbishop Arundel’s Constitutions, promulgated in 1409, forbade the ownership and use of biblical translations made in or since the time of John Wyclif (printed in D. Wilkins, *Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols. [London, 1737], 3:314–19). On MS Fairfax 2, its date and other manuscripts in which the dates may have been altered, see de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 177–8, and Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 257–9. Andrew Watson (*Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1984], 1:76, no 485) claims that examination under UV light suggests that the scribe first wrote ‘M.ccc’ and the ‘and’ symbol, erased the latter, wrote it in the right place, and then forgot to insert the fourth ‘c.’ Examination under UV light, however, notoriously fails to produce conclusive results.

<sup>14</sup> See descriptions of select manuscripts and an index of manuscripts briefly listing their contents in Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 235–66, and 281–306.

expertise, confidence and motivation to modify and adapt them for different patrons.

Bodl., MS Bodley 183 was written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century by a team that produced at least one other, but possibly more, surviving Bibles.<sup>15</sup> It contains a table of lections, a complete New Testament, as well as the Old Testament Biographies and Wisdom Books: Tobit, Judith, Esther, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. It is unclear why these, and not the other books were included.<sup>16</sup> The team almost certainly had access to several exemplars,<sup>17</sup> and it is unlikely that they simply could not obtain the rest of the Old Testament. What is particularly interesting, however, is that the table of lections was carefully edited to reflect this selection (fig. 14.1). It appears at the beginning of the book and has a form common for Wycliffite tables of lections, starting with the first Sunday in Advent. Each line contains the name of a feast or a day of the week, followed by a short title and chapter number of a biblical book. These are followed by an index letter, the opening words of each reading, the word “end” and the final words of each reading. The table of lections is preceded by a rubric which explains how it is organised and laid out, and declares that it is for the use of Salisbury.<sup>18</sup> In reality, as already mentioned, it contains references only to those books of the Old Testament which are present in the manuscript. The Old Testament readings are entirely missing from the Temporale, and only those from books included in the Old Testament selection are entered in the Commemorations and Sanctorale. The Sanctorale contains the Old Testament readings only from Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Proverbs, the Song of Song and Ecclesiasticus. The readings that are omitted (such as Malachi for Candlemas; Isaiah for

<sup>15</sup> Bodley 183 shares a scribe with Fairfax 11, and possibly also with Bodley 665 (de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 178).

<sup>16</sup> A similar selection, Proverbs-Ecclesiasticus in the Later Version and Tobit in the Earlier Version, is found in Cambridge, St John's College, MS G. 26; BL, MS Harley 3903 contains Job and Tobit in the Later Version (Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 283, 291).

<sup>17</sup> Alternative renderings are underlined in red in the Old Testament only, which may indicate the use of different exemplars for the New and Old Testaments; both Testaments are in the Later Version, but the Old Testament books have the Earlier Version prologues.

<sup>18</sup> “Here bigynneþ a rule þat telliþ in whiche placis of þis book 3e schulen fynde þe lessons pistlis & gospels þat ben rad in þe chirche aftir þe vse of Salisbury markid wiþ lettris of þe abc þe bigynnyngis & þe eendyngis with twei strikis first is sett þe sonedaies & ferials & after þe sanctorum comoun & propre writen a clause of þe bigynnyng þerof & a clause of þe ending also” (fol. vi recto). For the appearance and use of tables of lections in Wycliffite Bibles see Matti Peikola's essay in this volume.

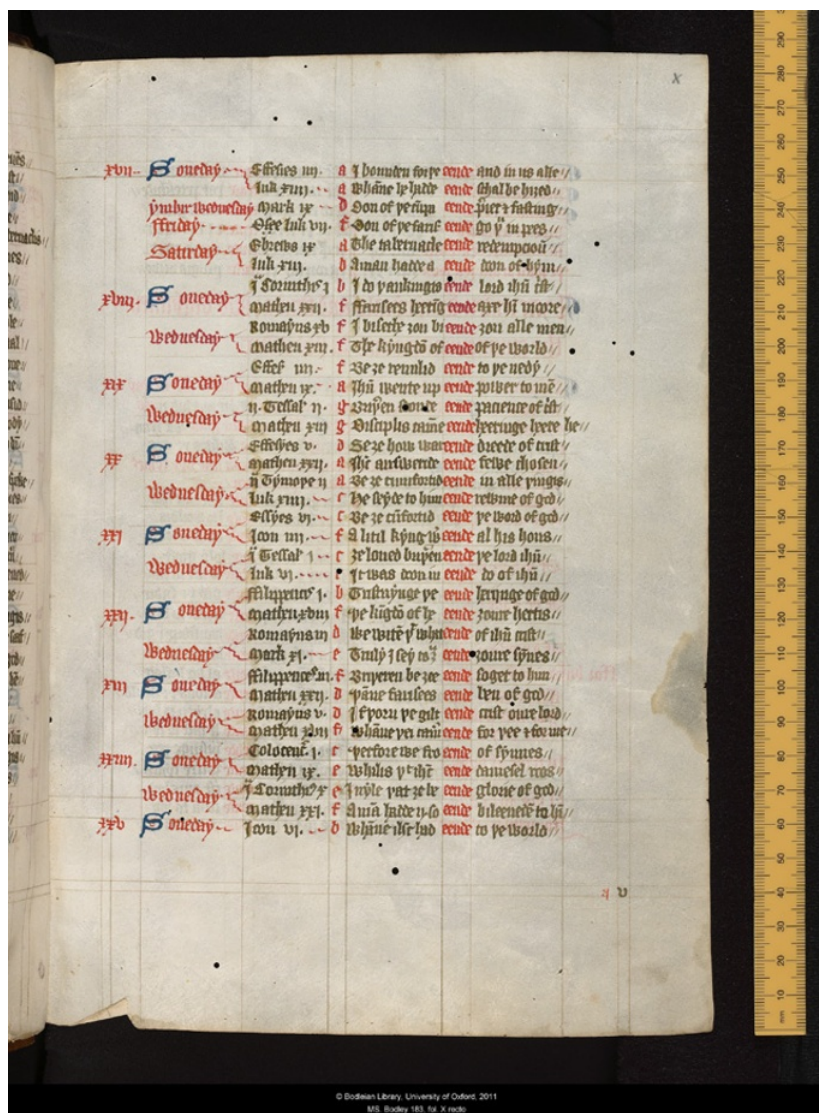


Figure 14.1. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 183, fol. x recto (table of lections).

Annunciation; Jeremiah and Isaiah for the eve, day and octave of John the Baptist; Ezekiel for Matthew and Luke) are all from the Old Testament books which are not included. Commemorations omit most Old Testament readings, apart from the ones from Ecclesiastes and Esther, both

present in the manuscript. The table of lections, however, as is consistent with its standard form in both the Earlier and Later versions,<sup>19</sup> does not contain any readings from Tobit or Judith, even though both books are included.

It seems, however, that the table of lections was copied from an exemplar which had a complete set of Old Testament readings. At one point (fig. 14.1) the scribe started copying a reference to Hosea (in line four from the top), but had to cross it out, presumably because Hosea was not included with the Old Testament selection in this manuscript. It is unclear what may have been the reason for this, but the table of lections was painstakingly edited to reflect the contents of the book.<sup>20</sup> Presumably its role was primarily referential, and it was conceived as an aid for studying these particular biblical books and their liturgical use, rather than for facilitating the Sarum liturgy in general.

Much is unclear about the medieval ownership of the Wycliffite Bible, partly no doubt because of censorship. Though the names and identity of the owners are rarely known, occasionally manuscripts contain other evidence of their ownership and use, including medieval and early modern additions and modifications. Such evidence is often difficult to interpret, but can occasionally shed light on the provenance and use of the manuscripts. Considering the scarcity of external evidence (such as historical records) concerning the ownership of the Bible, internal evidence, even if anonymous, deserves to be taken into consideration.

This type of evidence can help illuminate the problem of whether the medieval owners of the Wycliffite Bible were lay or clerical, and whether this changed during the fifteenth century and after the Reformation. The Wycliffite translation may have been primarily addressed to lay believers unable to read Latin, the *lewid puple* and *symple men of wit*, who, according to the General Prologue “crieth aftir holi writ, to kunne it, and

<sup>19</sup> Josiah Forshall and Frederic W. Madden, eds., *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and the New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1850), 4:683–96.

<sup>20</sup> The present form of Bodley 183 may not reflect its original makeup. Its three parts, the lectionary, the New and the Old Testaments, are codicologically separate. Quire I (the lectionary) has a quire signature ‘a’; the quires containing the New Testament (fols. 1–184) have quire signatures ‘a–z’; and the quires containing the Old Testament (fols. 185–284) have quire signatures ‘a–n.’ The last empty page of the New Testament has an offset of decoration not found on the page it currently faces (the first page of Tobit). The parts, however, were in their present order and form in the late fifteenth century as witnessed by the list of contents on fol. 286r (discussed later in this article).

kepe it, with greet cost and peril of here lif.”<sup>21</sup> The question of the audience envisaged by the original translators is, however, entirely separate from the question of how the Bibles were used in the late fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries. The owners whose identity is known constitute a mixed group of lay and religious people, including members of the nobility, women and tradesmen on the one hand, and clerics and members of the religious orders on the other.<sup>22</sup> The evidence of alterations and additions in the manuscripts overwhelmingly suggests a clerical, rather than lay ownership of Wycliffite Bibles in the Middle Ages. This may, of course, simply reflect the fact that clerics were more confident users of the written documents, and were therefore more likely to modify their books, leaving some mark of their ownership. Eamon Duffy, however, gives numerous examples of late medieval “devotional personalization” undertaken by the lay owners of Books of Hours. He reports that “Almost half the 300 Books of Hours in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris have manuscript annotations and additions of some sort, and it was very common indeed for English owners too to annotate their books”.<sup>23</sup> It is also possible that clerical owners of the Bibles were less anxious about becoming the suspects of heresy than lay owners, though their fear of persecution is also well attested.<sup>24</sup> Whatever the reason, fifteenth-century additions in the manuscripts often suggest that the Bibles were in clerical hands.<sup>25</sup> In some cases there is also evidence that the manuscripts may have been made for religious, rather than lay patrons.

<sup>21</sup> Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 1:57.

<sup>22</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 200–08, 231–38; eadem, “Lollard Book Production”, pp. 125–42; eadem, “Lollard Literature”, pp. 329–39; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 46–58. Since the owners were unlikely to identify themselves in their books or specify the titles of their books in their wills, the “fullest evidence for ownership and use of books derives from the hostile witness of trial records” (Hudson, “Lollard Literature”, p. 336). Such evidence, however, has its limitations, because, as both authors demonstrate, the likelihood of prosecution depended on “perceived orthodoxy” of the owners. As a result members of the nobility, religious orders and clergy were less likely to be prosecuted and to appear in such records than lay people. Well-known owners of the Wycliffite Bibles include kings Henry IV, Henry VI and Henry VII, Thomas of Lancaster, son of Henry IV, and Thomas of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III (Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 44).

<sup>23</sup> Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570; the Riddell Lectures 2002* (New Haven and London, 2006), p. 38. See also Mary C. Erler, “Devotional Literature” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. L. Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3, 1400–1557 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 495–525.

<sup>24</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 167–68.

<sup>25</sup> Dove also comments that records of lay ownership are less frequent in the manuscripts than records of clerical ownership: “...the fact that manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible so rarely contain records of pre-Reformation lay ownership and only infrequently

Bodley 183, though originally entirely in English, contains a list of its contents in Latin, added in a late fifteenth-century hand.<sup>26</sup> The list is preceded by a Latin rubric ("In isto libro continentur omnia subscripta," "This book contains all listed below") and provides Latin titles of the New and Old Testament books. Another manuscript, Bodl., MS Bodley 554, is a Wycliffite Psalter in the Later Version with extensive Middle English glosses. Written in the middle of the fifteenth century, it contains all the canonical Psalms, followed by the weekly and daily canticles. This Psalter is unique because it preserves the Wycliffite glosses on the Psalter better than any other surviving manuscript.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the book there are two short texts, added probably in two different hands in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. One is in English and has been identified by Michael Kuczynski as an extract from chapter six of Richard Rolle's *The Form of Living*.<sup>28</sup> It consists of a list of sins classified into the sins of thought, mouth, deed and omission. The second extract is in Latin, has not been previously identified, and is described in the Bodleian Library's *Summary Catalogue* as "a Latin note" on the litanies.<sup>29</sup> It comes, however, from John Belet's widely circulated treatise on liturgy, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*,<sup>30</sup> and the name of the author is mentioned in the passage twice. It is partly a copy and partly a summary of extracts from chapters 122 (*De letaniis*), 123 (*De institutione et modo letaniarum*) and 128 (*Quare non celebremus festa sanctorum, qui cum Christo surrexerunt*).<sup>31</sup> The passage tells rather colourful stories about the introduction of *letania maior* by Gregory the Great during the floods and epidemic in Rome, and of the institution of *letania minor* by St. Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, during the earthquakes and other disasters at the end of the fifth century.

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contain records of pre-Reformation clerical ownership suggests a widely felt fear that possession of scripture in English might be regarded as incriminating by the authorities of church and state" (*First English Bible*, pp. 55–56).

<sup>26</sup> The presence of a table may indicate that the selection of materials was considered unusual by the owner (see the discussion earlier in this article).

<sup>27</sup> Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> Michael Kuczynski, "A Fragment of Richard Rolle's *Form of Living* in MS Bodley 554", *Bodleian Library Record* 15 (1994), pp. 20–32.

<sup>29</sup> F. Madden and H. H. E. Craster, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, part I (1922), no. 2326. See also Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Exeter, 2010), pp. 139–40.

<sup>30</sup> Herbert Doutel, ed., *Iohannis Belet Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2 vols., CCCM 41–41a (Turnhout, 1976).

<sup>31</sup> Doutel, *Iohannis Belet Summa*, 41a:233–44. The passage is edited in Elizabeth Solopova, "A Previously Unidentified Extract about the Litany in a Wycliffite Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 554)", *Bodleian Library Record* 24 (2011), 217–23.

Michael Kuczynski argued for a generally lay and penitential context of this Psalter. He described it as a book “planned and copied for private reading by pious layfolk” and suggested that a passage from Rolle was added with the same reader in mind.<sup>32</sup> It should be remembered, however, that access to a complete Psalter was not required by late-medieval lay religious practice.<sup>33</sup> Psalters had a dual role as a service-book and a prayer-book for lay people in the early Middle Ages. Beginning in the thirteenth century, however, they were often superseded in the latter role by the Book of Hours, which contained only a selection of Psalms appointed for lay devotional reading. A full Psalter continued to be necessary for the Divine Office performed by monks and canons, and remained “a canonically required book, which till well into the fifteenth century parishes might be expected to own.”<sup>34</sup> All this raises the question of the original purpose and patronage of Wycliffite Psalters. This is particularly relevant when Psalters are stand-alone books, sharing, like Bodley 554, many features with a Latin liturgical Psalter.<sup>35</sup> Hudson points out that the selection of biblical texts in Wycliffite part-Bibles generally reflects Wycliffite attitudes towards the relative importance of various parts of the Bible, and that the only “marginal surprise” is the Psalter, which frequently appears as a single book, and is given superior attention in the commentaries.<sup>36</sup> In common with many medieval Psalters, Bodley 554 does not have a clear indication of its intended liturgical use. It has eight liturgical divisions in accordance with the secular use, but these are standard in late medieval Psalters in general. Psalm 118, however, is subdivided into twenty two sections in accordance with the monastic use. Again this is found in secular Psalters and is not a straightforward indication of use, though in England there was a tradition to subdivide this Psalm differently in monastic and secular Psalters.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Kuczynski, “A Fragment,” p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> See “A Book for Lay People” in Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, pp. 3–22.

<sup>34</sup> Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 180, n. 22. A constitution for the province of Canterbury, ascribed to Archbishop Winchelsey, 1305, made it the parishioners’ duty to provide the Antiphoner, Gradual, Legend, Ordinal, Psalter, Manual, Missal and Troper (H. E. Bell, “The Price of Books in Medieval England”, *The Library* 4th ser., 17 [1936–37], 312–32, at p. 327). See also Nigel Morgan, “Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, vol. II, 1100–1400 (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 291–316, at p. 295.

<sup>35</sup> Such features in Bodley 554 include the traditional liturgical divisions, the presence of Latin incipits in the margins, the use of punctuation traditional for Latin liturgical Psalters, and the presence of weekly and daily canticles following the Psalms.

<sup>36</sup> Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 232.

<sup>37</sup> See for example, Bodl., MSS Gough Liturg. 8 and Gough Liturg. 2, as examples of monastic Psalters where Psalm 118 is subdivided into 22 sections, and Bodl., MSS Hatton 4

Leaving aside the question of the original patronage of Bodley 554, the presence of an extract from a Latin liturgical treatise suggests a clerical, rather than lay owner in the fifteenth century. The extract from Rolle can perhaps be interpreted as a penitential manual in miniature, copied again for clerical use.<sup>38</sup> It also should be remembered that Latin liturgical Psalters included litanies as one of their standard components. Wycliffite Bibles and part-Bibles generally did not.<sup>39</sup> Bodley 554, however, preserves a connection with the tradition of a liturgical Psalter through a number of its features, including this added discussion of the litany.

Bodley 554 also contains a previously unnoticed record of its price in a fifteenth-century hand on the lower pastedown: "p[re]c[ium] x s" – presumably "price 10 shillings". The cost of this Psalter can be compared with prices for Latin Bibles and Books of Hours in the fifteenth century. Eamon Duffy observes that "medieval book prices are notoriously elusive," and that the price of Books of Hours varied widely.<sup>40</sup> Such variation is probably due to factors beyond our knowledge, including date, size, the presence of decoration and musical notation, and whether the price relates to production or to secondhand sale. Any conclusions relating to the prices of medieval books can therefore be only tentative.

Duffy observes that although Books of Hours were generally expensive because they were usually illuminated, by the early fifteenth century they became more accessible and were "routinely owned and used by wealthy townsmen and –women." Examples of this include the Primer of Thomas Overdo, a York baker who died in 1444, valued at 9s, the primer "covered with red velvet" belonging to Thomas Morton, canon of York Minster, estimated at 6s 8d, and the primer left by John Collan, a York goldsmith who

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and Hatton 45 as examples of secular Psalters where it is subdivided into 11 sections. See also "The Psalter" in John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 67–72.

<sup>38</sup> Kuczynski observes that Rolle's list of sins appears on its own in another manuscript, Bodl., MS Douce 302, where it is accompanied by English verses which recommend its reading and study ("A Fragment", p. 23; see also Hanna, *English Manuscripts*, pp. 150–52). One of the most interesting modifications of Rolle's text by the scribe of Bodley 554, pointed out by Kuczynski, is an addition *vndiscretly* under the "sins of deed", where Rolle mentions that withholding of necessities from the body is sinful. The resulting text is "To withalde necessities fro þe body vndiscretly" ("A Fragment", p. 25), which suggests a writer sympathetic with ascetic aspirations.

<sup>39</sup> The exceptions are New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 360, which includes the Office of the Dead, the litany, the Hours of the Virgin, and other liturgical material; and BL, MS Add. 35284 which contains Psalms, canticles and the litany (Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 63, 290).

<sup>40</sup> Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 22.



died in 1490, which was estimated at sixpence and was probably therefore a printed version.<sup>41</sup>

H. E. Bell observes that within the wide range of prices for books, service-books were at the expensive end of the spectrum, whereas university texts were at the opposite end, with the Bibles tending to be between the two.<sup>42</sup> According to his statistics, of thirty-six priced Latin Bibles from different dates within the period 1300–1530, twenty-three range from £2 to £4, eight cost over £4 and five under £2.<sup>43</sup> This shows that the price of Bodley 554 is comparable to the more expensive Books of Hours owned by townspeople. Considering that Books of Hours were usually illuminated, and that Bodley 554 is a very modest book, it also demonstrates that its price was relatively high. Bodley 554 is fairly small (ca. 231 × 165 mm, though trimmed with occasional loss of text in the margins), probably unfinished<sup>44</sup> and much less professionally produced than is common among Wycliffite Bible manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> The scribe made errors in Latin incipits of the Psalms (e.g. “D[omi]ne est t[er]ra” for “Domini est terra,” fol. 10v),<sup>46</sup> the gloss seems to have been written without horizontal ruling, there are red ink spills on many leaves (e.g. fols. 12v, 74r–v, 77r, 78v, etc.), and when the wrong gloss was entered on fol. 30v, it was simply crossed out, apparently by the original scribe, demonstrating the lack of care for the appearance of the text. The price of Bodley 554, however, seems to parallel generally high prices of other Wycliffite Bible manuscripts in the rare cases when they are known. BL, MS Harley 3903, containing just the books of Job and Tobit, is marked by its scribe as priced at 6s. 8d, whereas a copy of the New Testament was bought in 1430 for £2. 16s. 8d.<sup>47</sup>

Bodl., MS Bodley 531, a Wycliffite New Testament written in the first half of the fifteenth century, has on its final page an elaborate legal note

<sup>41</sup> Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>42</sup> Bell, “Price of Books”, pp. 327–28.

<sup>43</sup> Bell, “Price of Books”, p. 329.

<sup>44</sup> The Psalms in Bodley 554 are followed by daily canticles and prayers, the last of which was never executed. On fol. 87v there is a rubric “[t]e deum laudamus” in the hand of the original rubricator, but the initial is not filled in and the rest of the page is blank.

<sup>45</sup> According to Hudson, Bodley 554 is among very few Wycliffite part-Bibles which may have been an amateur production (*Premature Reformation*, p. 203 n. 159).

<sup>46</sup> It should be emphasized that in the Middle Ages Psalms were known by their Latin incipits rather than numbers, and presumably for this reason the opening words of Psalms show very little textual variation in liturgical Psalters.

<sup>47</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 206, 233

in English, written in a late fifteenth-century hand and signed “By me Ryc(ardus) merton chanon.” In this note the priest Richard Merton is denying a charge against him for what is described as “multiplying words” concerning the burning of a house of a certain Thomas Donsturfyld:

where as hyt was alegyt agaynyst me by the malytyose mynde of marget mukkulton to mytlyply wordys as concerninge the bronunge of thomas donsturfyld howse whyc I vtterly deny by fathe and pristehode neuer to speke to hym in the cause nor neuer to haue knolege in cause lyk that hyt sholde be soo.

Nothing is known about Richard Merton, but the wording of the note suggests familiarity with canon law. As demonstrated by Ian Forrest, “malicious” was a legal term used in canon law concerning defamation, implying an evil intent.<sup>48</sup> Forrest argues that medieval canon law was fundamentally concerned with intention, and *maliciose* was the key word in Stephen Langton’s 1222 statute for the province of Canterbury, known as *Auctoritate dei patris*. It excommunicated anyone who maliciously imputed a crime to someone not already of ill fame amongst “good and worthy people.” Words uttered with “malice,” rather than, for example, in anger, were a ground for conviction in cases of defamation.<sup>49</sup> The expression “to multiply words” is also interesting. Its earliest attestation recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary is from the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible, where it was used at least twice in a negative sense as a translation of Latin *verba multiplicare*. The examples appear in Job and Ecclesiastes: “without kunnyng woordys multiplieþ” (Jb 35.16) and “a fool multeplieth wordes” (Eccl 10.14). This expression may have been well established in English in the second half of the fifteenth century, though neither the OED nor the Middle English Compendium<sup>50</sup> give any other medieval examples.

A possible instance of a Wycliffite New Testament made for a religious owner is Bodl., MS Fairfax 11, which starts with a fully graded Latin liturgical calendar. Calendars were included in liturgical books made for lay patrons, such as Psalters and Books of Hours, but they tended not to be

<sup>48</sup> Ian Forrest, “Defamation, Heresy and Late Medieval Social Life” in *Image, Text and Church, 1380–1600: Essays for Margaret Aston*, ed. Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond (Toronto, 2009), pp. 142–61.

<sup>49</sup> Forrest, “Defamation”, pp. 143, 152.

<sup>50</sup> *The Middle English Compendium*, University of Michigan, February 2006 Release (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mec/>, accessed 05 August, 2011).

graded, apart from the use of colour. Calendars for lay use also tended to be fairly minimal and sometimes inconsistent. What appears in Fairfax 11, however, is a fully functional graded calendar for the use of Sarum. It has a number of peculiarities which may be relevant for dating the manuscript and understanding for whom it was made. First, it does not include a group of saints who were promulgated after 1415 under Archbishop Chichele: John of Beverley, David, Frideswide and Winifred.<sup>51</sup> This suggests that the manuscript was written fairly early in the fifteenth century. Secondly, of all the founders of the monastic orders only Augustine of Hippo is in red, and throughout the calendar the feasts are graded up to nine lessons in accordance with secular use. Most importantly, among very few English saints who are in red, Thomas of Hereford (2 October) stands out (fig. 14.2 and plate X).<sup>52</sup> He is a non-Sarum saint, yet he appears in this otherwise fairly standard Sarum calendar and is highly graded.<sup>53</sup> A possible conclusion is that the calendar was copied from a Sarum exemplar, but modified for a patron connected with a church of Augustinian Canons in or around Hereford, possibly Hereford Cathedral. If this is correct, it is potentially very interesting, because Nicholas Hereford, one of the possible translators of the Wycliffite Bible, was a treasurer at Hereford cathedral from 1397 to 1417, around the time when this manuscript was made.<sup>54</sup> Fairfax 11 is professionally produced, and shares a scribe and possibly an illuminator with two other Wycliffite Bible manuscripts.<sup>55</sup> Though possibly made for a patron from Hereford, it is unlikely that it was produced in Hereford itself, which preserved its own distinctive use in the late Middle Ages.<sup>56</sup> In the sixteenth century it was owned by Sir William Sinclair, laird of Roslin (†ca. 1580–5), many of whose manuscripts were

<sup>51</sup> On 2 May the calendar has “Theaddee”, bishop, in red, as “festum duplex”, marked “non sarum” in the original hand. This may be Chad, promulgated in 1415 (see Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 438–41).

<sup>52</sup> The only other English saints in red are Augustine of Canterbury (26 May), Thomas Becket and his translation (29 December and 7 July), the translation of Edward the Confessor (13 October) and Edmund Rich (16 November).

<sup>53</sup> Thomas of Hereford is one of only two non-Sarum English saints in red (the second is Theaddee, see note 43). Two feasts marked “non sarum” are: Theaddee (2 May) and the translation of Wulfstan (7 June); Thomas of Hereford is not marked “non sarum”.

<sup>54</sup> The possibility that Nicholas Hereford may have been involved in the copying of the Bible is discussed by de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 171–73. De Hamel believes that the colophon “Explicit translacioun Nicholay de herford”, corrections and chapter numbers in Bodl., MS Douce 369 are in the same hand as the final hand in Bodl., MS Bodley 959, which may be the hand of Hereford himself.

<sup>55</sup> See note 15.

<sup>56</sup> Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 466–80.



Whereas the fifteenth-century evidence often suggests that the owners of the Wycliffite Bibles were clerics, the situation seems to be very different in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All five Bibles discussed above were donated to the Bodleian Library by their lay owners: two Fairfax manuscripts by Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671) in 1671, and the three others between 1603 and 1607. Interestingly, Bodley 183 was owned and given to the Bodleian in 1604 by Robert Barker (ca. 1568–1646), king's printer, responsible for publishing the first edition of the Authorized Version in 1611.

The issues of patronage, ownership and use present some of the most difficult challenges for the study of the Wycliffite Bible, which became the first vernacular translation to be condemned by the English church. The manuscripts bear witness to how successful this first complete English translation was. It started as a highly learned and specialized scholarly enterprise, but left the confines of academia to reach the widest possible audience. A puzzling variety of the content and form of the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible reflects the range of functions that it served and the diverse requirements of its lay and clerical owners. Considering the scarcity of contemporary records, the manuscript evidence remains entirely irreplaceable for understanding its role within medieval religion and society.

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possession of William Sinclair already in 1561: "die secundo aprilis anno m<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup> lxi", followed by a signature of William Sinclair (?), on fol. 81v, at the end of Luke's Gospel.



## TABLES OF LECTIONS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE

Matti Peikola

The biblical translation project undertaken by John Wyclif's followers belongs to the landmarks of the vernacularisation process that characterises the end of the fourteenth century in England. Research on the Wycliffite Bible has largely focused on the translations themselves, while little attention has been paid to the various paratextual aids that accompany the translations in many of their approximately 250 extant manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> In such items, earlier medieval liturgical and calendrical traditions fuse with more recently adopted scholastic forms and techniques of presentation.

This article sets out to explore one frequent paratextual companion to the Wycliffite Bible: the table of lections – a liturgical tool for the Use of Sarum found in ca. 40 percent of the surviving manuscripts. Although the Wycliffite tables have been discussed by several scholars, no systematic treatment of them is available, comparable for instance to Ursula Lenker's survey of Anglo-Saxon gospel-lectionaries.<sup>2</sup> Paving the way for further

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<sup>1</sup> For the Wycliffite translation project and its texts, see Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge, 1920); Henry Hargreaves, "The Wycliffite Versions" in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: Vol. 2, The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 387–415; Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 238–47; Christina von Nolcken, "Lay Literacy, the Democratization of God's Law, and the Lollards" in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly Van Kampen (London and New Castle, Delaware, 1998), pp. 177–95; de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 166–89; Conrad Lindberg, *A Manual of the Wyclif Bible, Including the Psalms. Dedicated to the Memory of Sven L. Fristedt*, Stockholm Studies in English 102 (Stockholm, 2007); Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 66 (Cambridge, 2007); Mary Dove, *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate* (Exeter, 2010). The most up-to-date published list of extant manuscripts is that in Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 281–306.

<sup>2</sup> Ursula Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (Munich, 1997). In addition to the brief overview by Josiah Forshall and Frederic W. Madden, eds., *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and the*

comprehensive study on the tables, the major part of this article (Section 2) surveys their form, content and function by discussing similarities and differences between them from a typological perspective. These observations are based on an inspection of approximately 80 percent of the surviving tables, from originals or reproductions; for the remaining 20 percent, the data was supplemented by descriptions of Wycliffite tables of lections in library catalogues and other secondary sources. The concluding discussion (Section 3) addresses the tables from the point of view of the readers of the Wycliffite Bible. To provide necessary background information, Section 1 deals with the liturgical function of the table of lections, and summarises the main points of its historical development. Appendix A presents a list of the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible containing a table of lections.

### 1. THE TABLE OF LECTIONS AS A LITURGICAL TOOL

Since the time of the early church, readings (lections or pericopes) from Scripture have formed an important element in the liturgy of the Mass. In the West, the number of lections to be read at each Mass had stabilised by the sixth century at two: the epistle and the gospel. As a vestige of earlier conventions, some liturgical days continued to have one or more extra readings from the Old Testament in addition to the two basic types.<sup>3</sup> As a general term for a type of liturgical reading, the *gospel* is semantically transparent: all gospel pericopes are taken from the Four Gospels. The readings for the *epistle*, however, may also be derived from Acts, from the Apocalypse or from various books of the Old Testament, in addition to

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*New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1850), 1:xxxi, and 4:683n, which accompanies their edition of the tables, the Wycliffite tables have been discussed by Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, p. 176; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 198–99; Anne Hudson, “Lollard Book Production” in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 131–32; von Nolcken, “Lay Literacy”, p. 177; Paul Saenger, “The Impact of the Early Printed Page on the Reading of the Bible” in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. Paul Saenger and Kimberly van Kampen (London and New Castle, Delaware, 1999), pp. 31–51, at pp. 37–38; de Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 180–82; Paul Saenger, “The British Isles and the Origin of the Modern Mode of Biblical Citation”, *Syntagma* 1 (2005), 77–123, at p. 97; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 58–65.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), p. 85.



the Pauline and Catholic Epistles directly implied by the term.<sup>4</sup> Due to this referential ambiguity, the term *lesson* is sometimes used for pericopes derived from the Old Testament.<sup>5</sup> This threefold division is also followed in the Wycliffite material, where the standard nomenclature of the pericopes is “lessouns”, “pistlis”, and “gospels”.

Tables of lections (*tabulae lectionum*, pericope-lists) constitute one of the reference systems that were developed to help those reciting the Mass pericopes to easily locate the designated passages for each liturgical occasion.<sup>6</sup> Unlike lectionaries, which provide the full text of the pericopes, tables of lections consist of their incipits, either alone or together with their explicits. Since they depend upon the biblical text, they are normally found in Bibles. Theodor Klauser's survey of more than 600 medieval Latin manuscripts that contain a pericope-list reveals two chronological peaks in their production: the ninth to eleventh century for lists of gospel lections, and the thirteenth century for combined lists of epistles and gospels.<sup>7</sup> In the former period, almost all of the manuscripts included in Klauser's survey are copies of the Four Gospels, typically of Carolingian origin; in the latter period, they are almost exclusively complete Bibles with a wide geographical distribution of origins, including several copies made in England.

The figures presented by Klauser also suggest that the popularity of the table of lections waned during the fourteenth and fifteenth century – a trend possibly connected to the decline in the production of Latin Bibles

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<sup>4</sup> John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 116–18; for a detailed breakdown, see Walter Howard Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, 3 (London, 1935), pp. 103–15.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com>, s.v. “lesson, n. 2”; Frere, *Studies*, 3:103.

<sup>6</sup> For such systems, see Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, 1 (Münster, 1935), pp. xi–xxii; Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to Sources*, rev. and trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen with the assistance of John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 314–19; A. G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 21–43; Ursula Lenker, “The West Saxon Gospels and the Gospel-Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice”, *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999), 141–78. Traditionally, research into pericopes and their referencing systems has been associated especially with the typological study of early gospel books and gospel-lectionaries; see Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 99–100.

<sup>7</sup> Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. xxxvi–lxxxi. See also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 317–18; Martimort, *Lectures*, pp. 28, 31; Eric Palazzo, *A History of the Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998), pp. 92–93.

in this period.<sup>8</sup> While there is no reason to doubt the general direction of this development, it is possible that some fine-tuning of the picture is called for on the basis of more detailed codicological investigation of those thirteenth-century Latin Bibles that contain a table of lections. In several such books described in *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, for example, the tables were probably later additions.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. WYCLIFFITE TABLES OF LECTIONS: FORM AND FUNCTION

Since New Testaments form the single most frequent type of surviving manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible (ca. 40 percent of all manuscripts), it is not unexpected to find that they are also the commonest type of manuscript containing a table of lections. Over 70 percent of all manuscripts furnished with a table are in fact copies of the New Testament. The group also contains complete Bibles, second volumes of two-volume Bibles, Gospel Books, and manuscripts with various other combinations of New Testament material. As can be predicted on the basis of Klauser, Psalters or other manuscripts that contain solely Old Testament material do not feature in the group.

Wycliffite Bibles are usually divided on textual grounds into two distinct redactions – the Early Version (EV) and the Later Version (LV). The precise relationships between these versions as to their dates, processes of redaction, and locations and/or avenues of publication remain to be fully explored. Both EV and LV manuscripts contain tables of lections. On a general note, the small proportion (ca. 15 percent of all extant copies) of the EV manuscripts (including those of the so-called “Intermediate Version”) and their, on average, earlier dates of production, suggest that once LV texts became available, probably in the course of the 1390s, they fairly rapidly ousted the EV from circulation.<sup>10</sup>

The Wycliffite tables of lections vary in several aspects across the manuscript evidence. The range and distribution of this variation is unsatisfactorily represented in the sole critical edition of the tables by Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, based on only eight manuscripts out of almost one

<sup>8</sup> Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. lxxi–cxx; see also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 314–15.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, *MMBL*, 1:London (Oxford, 1969), pp. 2–3, 96–97, 262–63.

<sup>10</sup> See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 239; Matti Peikola, “Aspects of Mise-en-Page in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible” in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (London, 2008), pp. 28–67, at p. 30.

hundred that contain such a table (see Appendix A).<sup>11</sup> In addition to the small number of manuscripts used, the problem with Forshall and Madden's edition is that their text is essentially a patchwork of two major redactions of the table (EV/LV).

### *Mise-en-page*

The manuscript layout of most Wycliffite tables of lections readily explains why the word *table* is appropriate in describing them: the entries are presented in a column format that has been placed on a finely ruled grid, with each lection appearing in its own compartment. In most cases the columns themselves have alternating red and black text (figure 15.1). Most tables are written in textura bookhands of professional appearance. In their sophisticated layout they resemble the astronomical and mathematical tables found in contemporaneous scientific manuscripts.<sup>12</sup>

The usual *mise-en-page* of the Wycliffite tables consists of the following six columns, from left to right:

1. liturgical occasion (e.g. "Passioun Soneday"), red;
2. source of lection, by biblical book and chapter (e.g. "Joon viij<sup>o</sup>"), black;
3. referential letter (e.g. "h"), red;
4. lection incipit (e.g. "Who of 3ou"), black;
5. the word "ende", red;
6. lection explicit (e.g. "of þe temple"), black, often followed by a red or black double virgule (/).<sup>13</sup>

It remains an open question whether this *mise-en-page* was directly modelled upon the Latin tables of lections used in later medieval England. A Latin table of Sarum lections, added in the later fourteenth or early

<sup>11</sup> Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 4:683–98.

<sup>12</sup> For uses of the table format in late medieval English manuscripts, see e.g. Linda Ehrsam Voigts, "Scientific and Medical Books" in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 345–402, at p. 365; Charles F. Briggs, "Late Medieval Texts and Tabulae: The Case of Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum*", *Manuscripta* 37 (1993), 253–75; Matti Peikola, "Instructional Aspects of the Calendar in Later Medieval England, with Special Reference to the John Rylands University Library MS English 80" in *Instructional Writing in English: Studies in Honour of Risto Hiltunen*, ed. Matti Peikola, Janne Skaffari, and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 83–104.

<sup>13</sup> The double virgule is sometimes placed in a separately-ruled column.



fifteenth century to a thirteenth-century Bible in BL, MS Royal 1 B.x, fols. 34r–39v, bears a considerable resemblance to the Wycliffite tables in its compartmentalised column layout, which contains items (1)–(4) and (6) in the same order that they usually appear in the Wycliffite material. The absence of (5) can be explained by the same information appearing in the running title “Fines” (“endings”), placed above the column which contains the lection explicits; the column containing the incipits is similarly headed “Principis” (“beginnings”). The same convention of omitting (5) and using running titles is found in at least three Wycliffite tables whose column layout differs from the standard pattern in other ways as well.<sup>14</sup> The running titles for the incipit and explicit columns in all three manuscripts – “Beginnings” and “Eendings” respectively – echo the Latin usage represented by Royal 1 B.x.

Another example of a non-standard mise-en-page occurs in the table of New York Public Library, MS MA 67. It follows no clear column structure, and the pericopes for each occasion are given in long lines. Neither referential letters nor lection explicits are used, and both the names of the occasion and the abbreviations for the type of lection appear in Latin.<sup>15</sup> A similarly formatted table using Latin only is found appended at the end of BL, MS Harley 4027. The Latin tables in Oxford, New College, MS 67 and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 74, although not written in long lines, likewise lack the letters and explicits. The mixed-language table in BL, MS Egerton 618 also resembles MA 67 in its lack of the letters and the explicits.<sup>16</sup> These Latin (or mixed-language) tables seem to circulate in EV manuscripts.

In Latin Bibles, this type of table (or more appropriately, list) can be found for example in BL, MSS Egerton 2867, Royal 1 C.i and Royal 1 A.xi. All three manuscripts are complete Bibles of thirteenth-century English origin. In Egerton 2867, the hand in which the table was written seems to belong to the original scribe. In Royal 1 C.i, the main hand of the table

<sup>14</sup> Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 21; Dublin, Trinity College, MS 67; BL, MS Arundel 104.

<sup>15</sup> For the manuscript, see Matti Peikola, “The Bible in English” in *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler with the assistance of Elizabeth Moodey and Todor T. Petev (New York and London, 2005), pp. 77–85, at pp. 81–82.

<sup>16</sup> For the Egerton manuscript, see further Matti Peikola, “The Sanctorale, Thomas of Woodstock’s English Bible, and the Orthodox Appropriation of Wycliffite Tables of Lessons” in *Wycliffite Controversies*, ed. Mishtooni Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck II (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 153–74.

appears to be roughly contemporaneous with that in which the rest of the manuscript was written, whereas the imperfect table of Royal 1 A.xi is a later fourteenth/early fifteenth-century addition, written on the original endleaves of the manuscript. The very limited amount of non-Wycliffite Latin data used does not allow far-reaching conclusions about the development of mise-en-page in tables of lections used in medieval England or the place of the Wycliffite tables in this development. However, a hypothesis about the relative earliness of the untabulated list-like design, lacking the referential letters and lection explicits, seems warranted even on the basis of the present material. The characteristic occurrence of the more sophisticated compartmentalised mise-en-page in the tables found in fifteenth-century LV manuscripts is consistent with this hypothesis.

### *The Referential Apparatus*

In most Wycliffite tables of lections, a high degree of precision in the biblical reference is ensured by a specific referential letter attached to each lection.<sup>17</sup> The reader of the manuscript, intent on finding the lection for a particular liturgical occasion, would first consult the table to learn the book, chapter, referential letter, and incipit for a given lection. Upon turning to the book and chapter specified in the table, the reader would look for the same letter in the manuscript margin to see where the lection begins. The incipit given in the table guides him or her to the exact opening words. As a further visual cue, the first word(s) of the lection is washed with red or yellow in many manuscripts. The approximate location of the end of each lection is usually marked in the manuscript margins with a double virgule; the explicit given in the table informs the reader as to the precise closing words of the lection.

In a majority of the Wycliffite tables, the referential letters consist of the alphabet letters A to L. The two lections of Matthew chapter 7, for example, are marked with C and D; Matthew 8 has A and D; Matthew 9 is furnished with A, C, D, E and G. A widespread alphabetical system that resembles that of the Wycliffite manuscripts was developed by the Parisian Dominicans in the thirteenth century to use in their biblical concordance. In this system, the letters A–D (for short chapters) and A–G (for longer chapters) were used for the mental (virtual) subdivision of biblical

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<sup>17</sup> See also Hudson, "Lollard Book Production", p. 131; Saenger, "Impact", pp. 37–38; Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 59.

chapters into four or seven parts of roughly equal length.<sup>18</sup> That the scheme was malleable and came to be applied to *distinctiones* in non-biblical texts too is demonstrated by Charles F. Briggs' discussion of a six-letter (A–F) system used in an alphabetical subject index (*tabula*) produced for the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome in the 1390s, probably for the university market at Oxford.<sup>19</sup> The eleven-letter scheme (A–L) found in most Wycliffite tables is probably a further modification of the Dominican system. The Wycliffite habit of turning the virtual system into a concrete (graphic) one by placing the letters in the margins is not typical of Latin Bibles, however, although some individual instances have been identified by Paul Saenger from the early thirteenth-century onwards, especially in manuscripts written in England.<sup>20</sup> In the Wycliffite material, most tables which use the traditional A–G scheme instead of the A–L one are found in the manuscripts of EV.<sup>21</sup> A table with the shorter alphabetical sequence also appears in Bodl., MS Fairfax 2 – a large-size complete Bible with the biblical books in LV but most of the prologues in EV. According to its colophon, the manuscript was made in 1408.<sup>22</sup> This otherwise idiosyncratically formatted table spells out neither lection incipits nor explicits, which may mean that at the time of its making no table using LV readings suitable to accompany the text of the manuscript was yet available for copying.

The marginal letters of the alphabet that mark the lection openings and the double virgules that flag their endings are regularly present even in

<sup>18</sup> See Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979), p. 34; Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 100; Saenger, "Impact", p. 33; de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 181; Saenger, "The British Isles"; Paul Saenger, "The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible", in *La fractura historiográfica: Las investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el tercer milenio*, ed. Francesco Javier Burguillo and Laura Mier (Salamanca, 2008), pp. 177–202, esp. at pp. 181, 200.

<sup>19</sup> Briggs, "Late Medieval Texts", p. 258. See also Anne Hudson, "Accessus ad auctorem: The Case of John Wyclif", *Viator* 30 (1999), 323–44, at pp. 330–32; Saenger, "The British Isles", pp. 96–98.

<sup>20</sup> Saenger, "The British Isles", pp. 91–97. I am grateful to Dr. Saenger for his helpful advice.

<sup>21</sup> The Wycliffite tables using this system can easily be distinguished from the A–L ones from the letter attached to the first epistle lection at the very beginning of the table (the first Sunday in Advent). In the A–G tables, this letter is F; in the A–L tables, it is D.

<sup>22</sup> Bodl., MS Fairfax 2, fol. 385r. See also Hargreaves, "Wycliffite Versions", p. 394; Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395–1499* (London, 2002), p. 40; see the article of Elizabeth Solopova in this volume.

those LV manuscripts that do not contain a table of lections.<sup>23</sup> Scribes probably copied them routinely from exemplars together with the biblical text, regardless of whether or not a copy of the table was available at the time of the copying. In this process, copying errors could easily creep in and decrease the integrity of the referential system. Since the marginal letters are virtually meaningless without a table keyed to them, their wide attestation among LV manuscripts probably means that a table of lections containing the letters was part of the dissemination of LV from early on – a conclusion also suggested by the case of Fairfax 2 discussed above. This condition does not seem to apply to EV, however, where marginal letters are only rarely found in manuscripts that do not contain a table.

Some EV manuscripts employ an alternative system in marking the lections that may represent an earlier stage of transmission than the use of marginal letters. In this system, rubricated notes (*tituli*) spell out the liturgical occasion (e.g. “the gospel vpon cristemasse euen”). These appear within the Bible itself, either as part of the scriptural text or in the margin at the beginning of each pericope.<sup>24</sup> As in the alphabetical system, here too the word “ende” usually marks the end of the pericope.<sup>25</sup> As a liturgical device, this system predates the list/table of lections; it seems to have become more or less obsolete by the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup> Making

<sup>23</sup> See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 198; de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 181. Bodl., MS Bodley 277 – a complete Bible in a uniquely preserved revised LV text, owned by the Carthusians in the fifteenth century – uses a differently organized Carthusian system of marginal letters for indicating the lections; see Anne Hudson, “The Carthusians and a Wycliffite Bible” in *Ecclesia – Cultura – Potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa. Księga ofiarowana Siostrze Profesor Urszuli Borkowskiej OSU*, ed. Paweł Kras, Agnieszka Januszek, Agnieszka Nalewajek, and Wojciech Polak (Kraków, 2006), pp. 731–42, at pp. 737–38.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton Add. 3, fol. 3r. For the practice, see also de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 181; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 60–61; Ann Eljenholm Nichols, “The Illustrations of Corpus Christi College MS 32: ‘Pe Glose in Englische Tunge’” in *Image, Text and Church, 1380–1600: Essays for Margaret Aston*, ed. Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond (Toronto, 2009), pp. 37–67, at pp. 48–50. The practice is followed at least in Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 6682 (see Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 60); Dublin, Trinity College, MS 76; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 6127; BL, MSS Additional 15580, Egerton 617–18; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 84 (Acts in EV/LV; rubrics occur in the EV section); New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton Add. 3 (New Testament in EV/LV; rubrics occur in EV text; for the manuscript, see Matti Peikola, “Lollard(?) Production under the Looking Glass: The Case of Columbia University, Plimpton Add. MS 3”, *Journal of the Early Book Society* 9 [2006], 1–23); Bodl., MS Holkham misc. 40; Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya, MS 28 (Matt. and Acts; rubrics in Acts only); Warminster, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath), MS 3.

<sup>25</sup> See Martimort, *Lectures*, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. xiv, xxxv; see also Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 390n.



effective use of the notes on their own would have required considerable liturgical and scriptural expertise, which explains the development of the table of lections as a more user-friendly device.<sup>27</sup>

### *Types of Lection*

A great majority of the Wycliffite tables surveyed for this study contain information on three types of lections: the Old Testament lessons, the epistles, and the gospels. The rise of this form of table seems to be closely associated with the thirteenth-century surge in the production of complete Bibles.<sup>28</sup> This relationship is a logical one: a “full” table of lections obviously works best with a complete Bible. By the same token, it seems not impossible that the full Middle English tables of lections found in the Wycliffite manuscripts were likewise originally intended to be used with complete Bibles. The opening rubrics of the full Wycliffite tables almost invariably use the word “Bible” to describe the text to which their references pertain.

Strictly speaking, the references to Old Testament lections are redundant in tables accompanying New Testament manuscripts, because the reader would not be able to consult these texts within such a volume. The reason why separate Old Testament lectionaries – supplying the pericopes in full – were appended to many Wycliffite New Testaments must have been to remedy this problem by making the volume liturgically self-contained.<sup>29</sup> Another way to achieve the same result, although a much rarer one in the light of the surviving manuscripts, was the insertion of the full text of the Old Testament lections at the appropriate locations of the table itself.<sup>30</sup> That there also existed a need for separate full-text

<sup>27</sup> Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, p. xiv; Lenker, “West Saxon Gospel”, p. 152. Nichols, “Illustrations”, p. 50, points out that the EV *tituli* would have been particularly useful for priests.

<sup>28</sup> Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare*, pp. xvi, lxxi; Laura Light, “The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy”, *Viator* 18 (1987), 275–88, at p. 280.

<sup>29</sup> See Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 1:xix; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 61–62. According to Dove an Old Testament lectionary is found in twenty-five manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible. The relative scarcity of Old Testament texts among the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible would have increased the difficulty of consulting them in another volume.

<sup>30</sup> For this practice, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 198–99; von Nolcken, “Lay Literacy”, p. 186 n. 4; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 61–62. For manuscripts where Old Testament lessons are written out in full in the table of lections, see Dove, *ibid.*, p. 61 n. 123.

lectionaries of both Old and New Testament pericopes using the Wycliffite Bible is demonstrated by the survival of at least two manuscripts of this kind: BL, MSS Harley 1029 and Harley 1710.<sup>31</sup> The two volumes have an identical plan and contain the pericopes for the whole ecclesiastical year.

As indicated in Appendix A, there are some cases in which a table that is attached to a New Testament manuscript contains only references to those lections which occur in the New Testament. The opening rubrics of such tables usually recognise this by referring to “pistils & gospels” as the types of lection contained in them; the rubrics also specify the textual scope of the references as “þe newe testament” or “þe new law” instead of the standard “Bible”. In general, the rubrics and structuring principles of these tables suggest that they are not textually independent products, but derivatives of the more widespread tables containing references to the whole set of lessons, epistles and gospels. Concrete evidence for the process of modification can be found for example in the opening rubric of the table in New York Public Library, MS MA 66, fol. 2r, where the scribe first copied the word “Bible” from his exemplar, but subsequently cancelled it and replaced it with “new law”.

A similar derivative status seems to apply to those tables that make reference to even more selected types of lections. The largest group consists of tables that contain only references to the gospel pericopes – in one instance to Sunday gospels only. In these cases the parent manuscripts are gospel-books, which explains the limited scope of the references. The opening rubrics now refer to “gospels”, and describe the textual scope of the references as “(þe foure) euangelistis”, although “Bible” remains as a residual element of the standard formulation in at least one manuscript.<sup>32</sup> In like fashion, the tables in two manuscripts that contain the books from the Pauline Epistles to the Apocalypse list only the beginnings and endings of the epistle pericopes from the New Testament.

### *Liturgical Occasions and their Order*

Another way in which the contents of the Wycliffite tables of lections vary concerns the type of liturgical occasion included and the order in which

<sup>31</sup> See Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 1:xix; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 65–66; Sheila Lindenbaum, “Literate Londoners and Liturgical Change: Sarum Books in City Parishes after 1414” in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. Proceedings of the 2004 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 16 (Donington, 2008), pp. 384–99.

<sup>32</sup> London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1366, fol. 2r.

these are presented. A large majority of the tables surveyed contain the following three sections, usually separated from each other by rubrics:

- (section D) the lections for Sundays and ferias (Temporale) – in the rubrics “sonedaies & ferials” or “dominicals & ferials”;
- (V) the lections for the votive Masses or commemorations – “þe commemoraciouns”;
- (S) the lections for the Sanctorale – “þe sanctorum”.<sup>33</sup>

The most frequent order for the sections to appear is DVS: a table of lections with the three sections arranged in this order is found in at least forty-one manuscripts (see Appendix A). With a single exception, they are all manuscripts of LV.<sup>34</sup> Another relatively common order is DSV, present in at least seventeen manuscripts, of which almost all are again in LV (see Appendix A). In some EV manuscripts, however, the gospel harmony *Oon of Foure* is accompanied by a DSV-type table that was tailored to its parts and chapter divisions.<sup>35</sup>

By way of further variation, in a few manuscripts the three sections D, V and S are presented in two separate tables – a conventionally formatted DV-table that is arranged according to the ecclesiastical year (i.e. beginning from Advent) and an S-table that follows the order of the secular year from January to December.<sup>36</sup> The self-standing S-table may be viewed as a liturgical calendar into which the lection incipits and explicits were incorporated. In the closely related Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 34 and Gonville and Caius College, MS 343/539, for example, S contains the golden numbers and dominical letters; these features belong to the stock repertoire of calendars, but are not usually found in tables of lections.

<sup>33</sup> See also Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 59.

<sup>34</sup> The exception is BL, MS Royal 1 B.vi (New Testament in EV); the table is possibly later than the main part of the manuscript.

<sup>35</sup> *Oon of Foure* is a Middle English translation of Clement of Llanthony's gospel harmony *Unum ex quattuor*, closely associated with the Wycliffite Bible both textually and in its manuscript contexts. For a recent assessment of its textual connections with the Wycliffite Bible, see Paul Smith, “Could the Gospel Harmony *Oon of Foure* Represent an Intermediate Version of the Wycliffite Bible?”, *Studia Neophilologica* 80 (2008), 160–76. See also Elizabeth Schirmer, “Canon Wars and Outlier Manuscripts: Gospel Harmony in the Lollard Controversy”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010), 1–36. *Oon of Foure* tables notwithstanding, the only instance of a DSV table found in an EV manuscript that I am able to verify is Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 145 – very likely added to the manuscript at a slightly later stage.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix A. The S-sections of Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 21 and BL, MS Arundel 104 also begin from January, although they are not been presented under a separate table.

As it appears in Emmanuel 34 and Gonville and Caius 343/539, the section also includes several feasts that never appear in Wycliffite tables of lections proper, such as The Translation of St. Wilfrid (24 April) – a non-Sarum feast that was celebrated in the Use of York.<sup>37</sup> For many such “additional” feasts, no information on the incipits and explicits of the pericopes is provided, which further emphasises the primarily calendrical function of this type of table.

Some Wycliffite tables contain four sections instead of the usual three. Both sections D and V remain intact, but instead of S there are two separate sections: the Common of Saints (C) and the Proper of Saints (P). The usual sequence is DPCV; in the present data, only three tables follow a DVPC order (see Appendix A). Although a table with a separate C and P can be found in a few LV manuscripts, it enjoys a closer relationship with manuscripts of EV, and the incipits and explicits of the tables tend to represent an earlier textual state than those of the more widespread DSV and DVS types. Moreover, all the tables surveyed using the apparently earlier alphabetic referential scheme (A–G) have separate C and P sections. It is therefore probable that the presentation of the lections in four sections is a characteristic of the early transmission of the Wycliffite tables.

A comparison of the contents of C and P in tables of four sections with section S of the three-section tables suggests the process whereby the two sections evolved into a single one. In four-section tables, C contains the pericopes for the usual categories of the Common of Saints, such as “Many Martyrs”, “Confessor and Bishop”, “Virgin and Martyr” and so on.<sup>38</sup> No individually named saints appear in this section. In equally conventional fashion, section P lists the festivals, vigils and octaves for individually named saints, and provides information on the pericopes to be read on these days. There are approximately fifty different occasions listed under section P in the Wycliffite tables.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the usual description in the DSV/DVS table rubrics of section S as containing both the Common and the Proper of Saints “togidere of al þe 3eer”, the liturgical occasions named in S do not in fact contain any of the general Common of Saints categories of section C. Instead, there is a long list (about 170 items) of occasions celebrating individually named saints.

<sup>37</sup> See W.G. Henderson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society 59, 1 (Durham, 1874), p. xxxiv.

<sup>38</sup> See Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 1:696–97; cf. Pamela Gradon, ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 2 (Oxford, 1988), pp. cl–cli. For the liturgical uses of *common* and *proper*, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 45–47.

<sup>39</sup> See further, Peikola, “Sanctorale”.

Section S thus has the appearance of a considerably extended P. For example, where P lists one feast in the month of January – the Conversion of Paul on the 25th – S includes no fewer than twelve other feasts: Felix (of Nola), Maurus, Marcellus, Sulpicius, Prisca, Wulfstan, Fabian and Sebastian, Agnes, Vincent, Julian, Agnes (“*pe secunde*”), and Bathildis. A closer look at the pericopes assigned to these and other similar additional feasts in section S shows that they draw on a relatively small textual pool – the same as that used in section C. The separately-standing sections C and P seem to have been reworked into a single extensive section S by attaching the readings for the Common of Saints to a large number of individual saints’ feasts in the Sarum calendar, as if they were actually readings proper to them.<sup>40</sup>

### *Rubrics*

Most of the Wycliffite tables of lections surveyed contain both an opening rubric and short medial rubrics separating the different sections from each other. The closing rubric is a less frequent element, and seems to allow for more editorial (scribal) variation than the opening/medial rubrics. The few tables without any opening rubric whatsoever (excluding the defective tables that have lost their beginning) are often representatives of the four-section tables presumably originally designed to accompany EV manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> A similar lack of rubrics also characterises the small sample of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century non-Wycliffite Latin tables investigated. This finding may indicate that the use of opening rubrics in Sarum tables of lections belongs to a later phase in their development.

There is a considerable degree of textual variation between the rubrics of the various structural types of table (DVS, DSV etc.). When shared between tables, such variation may help to identify subgroups under the broader types.<sup>42</sup> The rubrics also show evidence of idiosyncratic scribal behaviour, ranging from the usual copying errors to what seems to be intentional modification of the rubrics. Some such idiosyncrasies may

<sup>40</sup> See further, Peikola, “Sanctorale”.

<sup>41</sup> Tables without opening rubrics in EV manuscripts include Dublin, Trinity College, MSS 75, 76; BL, MS Additional 15580; New York Public Library, MS MA 67; Bodl., MS Hatton 111; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus A 2 Augusteus 2<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> See Matti Peikola, “Copying Space, Length of Entries, and Textual Transmission in Middle English Tables of Lessons” in *Scribes, Printers, and the Accidentals of Their Texts*, ed. Jacob Thaisen and Hanna Rutkowska (Frankfurt am Main, 2011), pp. 107–24.

reflect scribes' creative responses to the lack of opening or closing rubrics in their exemplars.

The medial rubrics serve a straightforward signposting function by naming the previous and/or next section: for example, "Here eenden dominicals & ferials: & bigynnen commemoraciouns in þis ordre".<sup>43</sup> The opening rubrics also frequently comment metatextually on the structure of the table by naming its sections and mentioning their order: "first ben sett sonedaies & ferials togider. & aftir þe sanctorum comoun & propre togider of al þe 3eer".<sup>44</sup>

Particularly the longer opening rubrics of the DVS and DSV types provide table users with information about the way their apparatus works, including the order of the sections, the use of the alphabetical referential system and the nature of the information presented in the columns:

Here bigynneþ a rewle þat telliþ in whiche chapitris of þe bible 3e may fynde þe lessouns, pistlis, and gospels þat ben red in þe chirche aftir þe vss of salisbiri, markid wiþ lettris of þe abc at þe bigynnyng of þe chapitris, toward þe myddil or eende, aftir þe ordre as þe lettris stonden in þe abc. First ben sett sundaies and ferials togider, and aftir þat þe sanctorum þe propre and comyn togider of al þe 3eer; and þanne last þe commemoraciouns þat is clepid þe temporal of al þe 3eer. First is writen a clause of þe bigynnyng of þe pistil and gospel, and a clause of þe ending þerof also.<sup>45</sup>

Explanations (canons) such as these possibly anticipate an audience unfamiliar with the alphabetical system of reference or the tabular format in general.<sup>46</sup> That they do not as a rule occur in tables of EV manuscripts may suggest that these were intended for a more professional audience.

The rubrics also occasionally alert the reader to the presence of textual or ideological problems. The writer of the closing rubric of Bodl., MS Ashmole 1517 was concerned about discrepancies between the text of some of the Old Testament lessons and the corresponding biblical text proper. He puts the blame on the "ordynaunce of þe chirche" in a way that echoes the criticism found in some Wycliffite polemical tracts:<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Berkeley, University of California, The Bancroft Library, MS 128, fol. 6v.

<sup>44</sup> Bodl., MS Fairfax 11, fol. 7r.

<sup>45</sup> Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 80, fol. 9r. For the manuscript page, see figure 15.1. See also Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 59. In quotations from manuscripts, the original punctuation is modernised and all abbreviations silently expanded.

<sup>46</sup> See further, Peikola, "Instructional Aspects".

<sup>47</sup> For Wycliffite writers, the "ordynaunce" of Christ or God, grounded on the Bible, generally represents the acceptable rule, whereas that introduced by the Church and its

þe lokeris in þis kalender be riȝt wel war, for he shal not fynde alle þe bigynnyngis of þe lessouns of þe olde lawe acorde wiþ þe kalender. For bi ordynance of þe chirche þer is sett to þe bigynnyngis of many lessouns more and operwyse þan it is in þe byble.<sup>48</sup>

A table of lections with somewhat different ideological concerns is found in BL, MS Egerton 618, a large and sumptuous codex which together with its companion volume MS Egerton 617 once belonged to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (†1397). The apparently unique table in this EV manuscript probably represents a stage of transmission that immediately preceded the integration of the separate Proper of Saints and Common of Saints sections into a single extended Sanctorale. The compiler/scribe of the table evidently felt strongly about the issue of extending the Sanctorale. His clearly Wycliffite attitudes are revealed by a long comment ingeniously interpolated into the section on the “comoun sanctorum”. The comment condemns the application of the Common of Saints’ pericopes to recently canonised saints and emphasises the necessity of the biblical approval of sainthood (see Appendix B).<sup>49</sup>

### 3. WYCLIFFITE TABLES OF LECTIONS AND THEIR USERS

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, many originally scholastic novelties, including running titles, chapter rubrics, and the flagging of paragraphs with the paraph sign, had made their way into the standard apparatus of vernacular texts.<sup>50</sup> The diffusion into the vernacular of more technical reference devices such as compartmentalised tables appears to have been slower and generically more limited. The prolific copying of the Wycliffite tables of lections in the first decades of the fifteenth century as

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various representatives tends to be seen in a negative light. See, for example the comment made by the writer of the Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible: “þese pore men [i.e. the Wycliffites] desiren oneli þe treupe and fredom of þe hooli gospel and of hooli scripture, and accepten mannus lawis and ordenaunces oonli in as myche as þei ben groundid in hooli scripture or good resoun, and comyne profit of cristen puple”, Dove, *Earliest Advocates*, p. 48.

<sup>48</sup> Ashmole 1517, fol. 5v. For a closing rubric with similar concerns in the table of Hereford Cathedral, MS O.VII.1, see Matti Peikola, “First is writen a clause of the bigynnyng theof...”: The Table of Lections in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible”, *Boletín Millares Carlo* 24–25 (2005–2006), pp. 343–78, at p. 363; Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>49</sup> For further discussion of the comment and its ideological implications, see Peikola, “Sanctorale”.

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. M. B. Parkes, “The Influence of the Concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the Development of the Book” in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 115–41.

pre-designed components of English biblical manuscripts implies, nonetheless, that by this stage there already existed a substantial demand even for a vernacular technical genre of this type. As the instructive rubrics of the tables suggest, the intended audience may not as yet have been very familiar with all their conventions, but it was expected to be readily capable of grasping them. In the hierarchical religious atmosphere engendered in England by the anti-Wycliffite Constitutions of 1409, this appreciative picture of vernacular readers and table users may, on the one hand, point towards what Nicholas Watson has called “the circle of privilege comprising aristocracy, gentry, and urban merchant classes” as the projected audience.<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, the tone adopted in the rubrics of the tables may also be identified with the Wycliffite writers’ usual conception of their audiences as “at once textually untrained and textually hyperconscious”.<sup>52</sup>

Although the large number of surviving copies speaks to the popularity of the Wycliffite tables of lections and their accompanying manuscripts in later medieval England, there is no scholarly consensus as to the context(s) in which they were used. Margaret Deanesly sees “private study” as a more probable alternative than their use by the congregation at Mass to follow the Latin pericopes from the English text of the translations.<sup>53</sup> She altogether rules out the possibility that the Wycliffite Bible itself could have been used for reading aloud at Mass. Anne Hudson disagrees with Deanesly and holds public “church reading” (in English) to be the primary context for which at least some of the manuscripts were intended.<sup>54</sup> She suggests that the production of the manuscripts with the liturgical apparatus in the vernacular may originally have been part of a conscious Wycliffite programme “to supplant the use of Latin for the gospel and

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<sup>51</sup> Nicholas Watson, “The Politics of Middle English Writing” in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (Exeter, 1999), pp. 331–52, at p. 345.

<sup>52</sup> Rita Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 44 (Cambridge, 2001), p. 137.

<sup>53</sup> Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, p. 176. For some of the methodological issues involved in using the number of surviving manuscripts as a reflection of a popularity of a medieval text, including the Wycliffite Bible, see Michael G. Sargent, “What do the Numbers Mean? A Textual Critic’s Observations on Some Patterns of Middle English Manuscript Transmission” in *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, ed. Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York, 2009), pp. 205–44.

<sup>54</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 199.



epistle readings within the established liturgy".<sup>55</sup> This strategy could be viewed as a parallel to the Wycliffites' endeavour to disseminate their own versions of some basic catechetical texts in English, such as the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*.<sup>56</sup> Christopher de Hamel takes a different position and regards Wycliffite Bible manuscripts as "completely orthodox and conventional in their liturgical aspect".<sup>57</sup> He emphasises their primary function as tools for private devotion, and argues that the English biblical text might have been used in the fifteenth century by laymen as "a sustained gloss or mirror to the original, to help focus devotion by increasing understanding of the sacred Latin text" of the Mass.<sup>58</sup> Mary Dove likewise tentatively supports the idea that the manuscripts could have been used by the congregation at Mass as aids to understanding the Latin lections.<sup>59</sup>

Despite their differences in emphasis, the positions need not be historically irreconcilable. As Hudson observes, the original Wycliffite intention of using the manuscripts for public reading in church may have differed from their eventual use in more private contexts, whether orthodox or heterodox.<sup>60</sup> The distinction between public (liturgical) and private (devotional) contexts may itself have become blurred in some circumstances. Dove points out that patrons of private chapels, such as Thomas of Woodstock, could well have instructed their chaplains to read aloud the lections from their English Bibles.<sup>61</sup> The argument by de Hamel about the readings at Mass, as being *per se* at variance with Wycliffite anticereemonial attitudes, does not receive support from Wycliffite texts.<sup>62</sup> There are

<sup>55</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 199. See also Hudson, "Lollard Book Production", pp. 131–32. Anne Hudson, "A Lollard Mass", *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1972), 407–19, discusses a distinctive form of Mass, celebrated in the 1380s by the self-proclaimed Lollard priest William Ramsbury in the Salisbury diocese. In Ramsbury's case, however, there is no evidence of the use of English in the ritual; see also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. Matti Peikola, "And after all, myn aue-marie almost to the ende": *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* and Lollard Expositions of the *Ave Maria*", *English Studies* 81 (2000), 273–92.

<sup>57</sup> de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 182.

<sup>58</sup> de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 184.

<sup>59</sup> Dove, *First English Bible*, pp. 63–64. See also Saenger, "Impact", p. 38.

<sup>60</sup> Hudson, "Lollard Book Production", pp. 131–32. She specifically mentions "Lollard schools" as one of the settings where the use of the Bible manuscripts could have taken place. For such clandestine conventicles and their modes of operation, see Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 180–200, Shannon McSheffrey, *Gender and Heresy: Women and Men in Lollard Communities, 1420–1530* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 49–66; Copeland, *Pedagogy*, pp. 11–12 and *passim*.

<sup>61</sup> Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 65; see also Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2008), pp. 92–100.

<sup>62</sup> de Hamel, *The Book*, p. 182.

texts criticising the Use of Sarum and particularly some of its new ceremonies as hindrances to the priest's duty to preach and teach the Gospel, but to my knowledge such criticism is on no occasion targeted at readings from the Bible or at the use of lectionaries.<sup>63</sup> Of the specific liturgical manuscripts, it is rather songbooks, such as graduals and antiphonals, that Wycliffite writers find suspect.<sup>64</sup> According to Hudson "[t]he two elements of the traditional church service to which Lollards attached importance were the readings from the bible and the sermon".<sup>65</sup> From this perspective, the liturgical apparatus found in manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible is readily comparable to the liturgical organisation plan of the Wycliffite sermon-cycle.<sup>66</sup>

As regards the possible use by the congregation at Mass of the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible furnished with tables of lections, the line between acceptable and non-acceptable practice seems to have been very fine. Katherine Zieman observes that later medieval English didactic treatises targeted at laypeople attending ("hearing") Mass distinguish between clerical and lay understanding of the lections.<sup>67</sup> The lay mode essentially entailed hearing without comprehension, so that during the reading of the gospel lection, for example, the laity was expected to focus their mind on Christ rather than pay attention to the text and try to understand its meaning. Viewed in this framework, the liturgical packaging of the Wycliffite Bibles with their paratextual aids appears radical and indeed potentially challenging to the conservative division between the privileged clerical and non-privileged lay modes of hearing the Mass. It helps us to see why the idea of the congregation at Mass using biblical

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<sup>63</sup> For instances of such criticism in Wycliffite texts, see Josiah Forshall, ed., *Remonstrance against Romish Corruptions in the Church* (London, 1851), p. 154; Thomas Arnold, ed., *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, 3 (Oxford, 1871), pp. 202, 482; F. D. Matthew, ed., *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted* (London, 1902), pp. 170, 192–94; Gradon, *English Wycliffite Sermons*, p. 362.

<sup>64</sup> See for example Matthew, *English Works*, p. 194.

<sup>65</sup> Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 196.

<sup>66</sup> The liturgical organisation of the sermon-cycle is discussed by Anne Hudson, ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 1 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1–50. It remains a possibility that the Wycliffite tables of lections could have been (or were intended to be) used by priests as aids of sermon construction. I am grateful to Dr. Eyal Poleg and Prof. Simo Heininen for their perceptive comments. To find support for the hypothesis, it would be important to locate Middle English sermons where the text of the pericope is derived from the Wycliffite Bible. A useful starting point for the enquiry is provided by the recent publication of Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, 4 vols. (Turnhout, 2007).

<sup>67</sup> Zieman, *Singing the New Song*, pp. 80–92.

manuscripts furnished with tables of lections would have been appealing to the Wycliffites.

The patterns of typological variation discussed in this article render tentative support for the possibility that the practice of appending tables of lections to Bibles in English originated in Wycliffite circles. The limited number of saints included in the Proper of Saints section of the earlier tables typical of Early Version manuscripts is a case in point. Its contents generally accord with Wycliffite views of sainthood; a similar shorter repertory of saints is found for example in the overtly polemical *English Wycliffite Sermons*.<sup>68</sup> The extended single Sanctorale section of the later and more widely copied tables in Later Version manuscripts, however, may suggest that the Wycliffites relatively soon lost their ideological control over the transmission of the tables (and their accompanying manuscripts). In this context, the distressed comments of the compiler of the table of lections in MS Egerton 618 emerge as the voice of a Wycliffite struggling to retain (or regain) ideological control over the contents of a table in one specific instance.<sup>69</sup>

#### APPENDIX A: THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE CONTAINING TABLES OF LESSONS

The entries below are arranged alphabetically according to repository. In addition to the shelfmark of the manuscript, each entry contains the location of the table in the manuscript (by foliation or pagination); the order of the liturgical sections in the table; and the types of lection included in the table. If the Old Testament (or other) pericopes have been systematically written out in full in the table, this is indicated with an "f" at the end of the entry. The abbreviations for the liturgical sections are as follows: D = Dominical and ferial lections, V = Votive Masses, C = Common of Saints as a separate section, P = Proper of Saints as a separate section, S = a combined Sanctorale with readings from C and P. The abbreviations for the types of lection are as follows: G = gospel lections, E = epistle lections from the New Testament, L = pericopes from the Old Testament. Where information regarding a table is not based on my own inspection of the manuscript from the original or from a reproduction, the

<sup>68</sup> See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 197.

<sup>69</sup> See further Peikola, "Sanctorale".

secondary source is mentioned in a note. For manuscripts that I have not personally inspected, the foliation of the table, the order of the sections, and the lection types have not been indicated if their unambiguous verification has not been possible. Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible with Latin tables of lections have been listed separately under Section 2 of the Appendix.

1. *Middle English (and mixed-language) tables*

Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland, DNP MS 449, fols. 1r-9v, DVS, GE<sup>70</sup>

Alnwick Castle, Duke of Northumberland, DNP MS 788, fols. 7r-26r, DSV, GEL

Berkeley, University of California, The Bancroft Library, MS 128, fols. 1r-12v, DVS, GEL<sup>71</sup>

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 147, fols. 18v-23v, DVS, GEL<sup>72</sup>

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 440, fols. 1r-2r, D, G<sup>73</sup>

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 21, fols. 2r-7v, DVS, GEL

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 34, fols. 1r-6v & 7r-12v, DV & S, GEL<sup>74</sup>

Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 108, fols. 2r-15v, DSV, GEL

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 343/539, fols. 79r-85r & 86r-91v, DV & S, GEL<sup>75</sup>

Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 47 (Q. D. 6.), fols. 22r-34v, DVS, GEL

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 15, fols. 179r-194v, DVS, GEL

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, MS 2073, fols. 338r-351v, DSV, GEL

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 99, fols. 2r-6v, DPCV, GEL<sup>76</sup>

Cambridge, St John's College, MS E.13, fols. 1r-4r, DPCV, E

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.10.20, fols. 227r-232v & 233r-239v, S & DV, GEL<sup>77</sup>

<sup>70</sup> I am grateful to the Duke of Northumberland for his permission to inspect the manuscripts at Alnwick Castle.

<sup>71</sup> See *The Digital Scriptorium*, <http://scriptorium.columbia.edu/> (accessed 21 December, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> Two leaves are missing from the end of the table.

<sup>73</sup> The table only contains the Sunday gospels.

<sup>74</sup> Section S is a combined liturgical calendar and table of lections.

<sup>75</sup> Section S is a combined liturgical calendar and table of lections.

<sup>76</sup> Two leaves are missing from the beginning of the table.

<sup>77</sup> Section S is a combined liturgical calendar and table of lections.

- Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6683, fols. 1r–12v, DVS, GEL  
 Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6684, fols. 1r–9r, DVS, G  
 Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.1.27, fols. 420r–426r, DSV, GEL  
 Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.1.8, fols. 31r–37v, DPCV, GEL  
 Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.1.13, fols. 57r–64v, DV, GEL  
 Cambridge University Library, British and Foreign Bible Society, MS 156  
 (Eng. 3), fols. 108r–121v, DSV, GEL  
 Dallas, Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, MS 7, fols.  
 157r–165v, DVPC, GEL<sup>78</sup>  
 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Mscr.Dresd.Od.83, fols. 1r–14v,  
 DSV, GEL  
 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 67, fols. 236r–243v, DVS, GEL<sup>79</sup>  
 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 75, fols. 4r–11r, DPCV, GEL<sup>80</sup>  
 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 76, fols. 1r–5v, DPCV, GE<sup>81</sup>  
 Dunedin, Public Library, MS Reed Fragment 20, f<sup>82</sup>  
 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18.6.7, fols. 1r–6v,  
 DPCV, GE<sup>83</sup>  
 Glasgow University Library, MS Gen. 223, fols. 1r–6v, DSV, G<sup>84</sup>  
 Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O.VII.1, fols. 1r–5v & 6r–9v, S & DV, GEL<sup>85</sup>  
 London, British Library, MS Add. 15580, fols. 1r–8r, DPCV, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Arundel 104, fols. 1r–10v, DVS, GEL

<sup>78</sup> See *Wycliffite Manuscript: The New Testament, England, 1400–1450*. Digital facsimile, commentary by Fred C. Robinson. CD-ROM (Oakland, California 1999).

<sup>79</sup> In the manuscript, the leaves forming the table are arranged in the wrong order. The correct order is fols. 236, 237, 239, 238, 241, 240, 242, 243.

<sup>80</sup> No biblical references are given for the Old Testament pericopes.

<sup>81</sup> In the manuscript, the leaves forming the table are arranged in the wrong order. The correct order is fols. 1, 3, 2, 5, 4. A leaf is lost between fols. 3 and 2, and fols. 5 and 4.

<sup>82</sup> A leaf from section D of a GEL table in which some of the Old Testament pericopes are written out in full. It belongs together with Orlando, Florida, Sola Scriptura, The Van Kampen Collection, MS VK 641, and Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya, Fragment; see Margaret M. Manion, Vera F. Vines, and Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in New Zealand Collections* (Melbourne, 1989), pp. 98–99. I am grateful to Mr. Anthony Tedeschi, Rare Books Librarian, Heritage Collections, Dunedin Public Libraries, for his help with the fragment. Close similarities in handwriting, layout and table readings suggest that the Reed (1 leaf), Takamiya (1 leaf) and Van Kampen (16 leaves) fragments were originally all part of San Marino, California, Huntington Library, MS HM 134.

<sup>83</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Eyal Poleg for information concerning the manuscript.

<sup>84</sup> The table refers to the *Oon of Foure*.

<sup>85</sup> Section S is a combined liturgical calendar and table of lections; the first leaf (January–February) is missing. A piece is cut away from the lower half of several pages in both tables.

- London, British Library, MS Arundel 254, fols. 14r–18r, DSV, G<sup>86</sup>  
 London, British Library, MS Egerton 618, fols. 160r–177r, DPCV, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Egerton 1165, fols. 1r–12v, DVS, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Egerton 1171, fols. 8r–21r, DVS, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Harley 1212, fols. 1r–14r, DSV, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Harley 4890, fols. 1r–8r, DVS, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Harley 6333, fols. 1r–17v, DSV, GEL<sup>87</sup>  
 London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 407, fols. 1r–8r, DPCV, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 455, fols. 50r–57v, DVS, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Royal 1 A.iv, fols. 3r–15r, DSV, GEL  
 London, British Library, MS Royal 1 A.x, fols. 1r–9r, DVS, GE  
 London, British Library, MS Royal 1 B.vi, fols. 4r–13v, DVS, GEL  
 London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 532, fols. 1r–15v, DSV, GEL  
 London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1150, fols. 2r–14r, DVS, GEL  
 London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1366, fols. 2r–10r, DVS, G  
 London, Westminster Abbey, MS 8, fols. 1r–13v, DVS, GEL  
 Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6723, fols. 2r–11v, DVS, GE  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 76, fols. 1r–9v,  
 DSV, GEL<sup>88</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 77, fols. 4r–12r,  
 DVS, GE  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 78, fols. 1r–8v,  
 DVS, GEL<sup>89</sup>  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 80, fols. 9r–22v,  
 DSV, GEL  
 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS English 91, fols. 1r–9r,  
 DVS, GEL  
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.400, fols. 145r–155r, DSV, GEL  
 New York Public Library, MS MA 64, fols. 1r–12v, DVS, GEL  
 New York Public Library, MS MA 65, fols. 1r–12v, DVS, GEL  
 New York Public Library, MS MA 66, fols. 2r–10v, DVS, GE  
 New York Public Library, MS MA 67, fols. ix recto – xi verso, DS in a single  
 section, GEL<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The table refers to the *Oon of Foure*.

<sup>87</sup> The gospel lections refer to the *Oon of Foure*.

<sup>88</sup> The first leaf of the table is missing.

<sup>89</sup> Two leaves are missing from the table, one from the beginning before the present fol. 1 in section D, the other between the present fols. 7 and 8 in section S.

<sup>90</sup> A combined liturgical calendar and table of lections.

Orlando, Florida, Sola Scriptura, The Van Kampen Collection, MS VK 638, fols. 1–4, G<sup>91</sup>

Orlando, Florida, Sola Scriptura, The Van Kampen Collection, MS VK 641, f<sup>92</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1517, fols. 1r–5v, DV, GEL<sup>93</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 183, fols. vi recto–xv verso, DVS, GE(L)<sup>94</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 531, fols. 1r–37v, DVS, GEL, f

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 665, fols. 1r–12v, DVS, GEL

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 771, fols. 1r–3v, DSV, G<sup>95</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 978, fols. 170r–181v, DPCV, GEL<sup>96</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 240, fols. 182r–193r, DVS, GEL

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 265, fols. 4r–13r, DVS, GE

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 2, fols. 188r–193v, DV/S, GEL<sup>97</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 11, fols. 7r–18v, DVS, GEL

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 21, fols. 1r–4v, DS, E

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Eccl. Top. 5, fols. 235v–243r, DPCV, GE

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 111, fols. 13v–34r, DPCV, GE

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 29, fols. 1r–12r, DVS, GEL<sup>98</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 388, fols. 7r–19v, DSV, GEL<sup>99</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 26, fols. 6r–14v, DVS, GEL<sup>100</sup>

<sup>91</sup> See von Nolcken, “Lay Literacy”, p. 186 n. 2, 3. In Dove, *The First English Bible*, pp. 297–98, the descriptions of MSS Van Kampen 638 and Van Kampen 639 seem to have been swapped by accident. I am grateful to Dr. Herbert Samworth at Sola Scriptura for information concerning the manuscripts.

<sup>92</sup> A two-quire fragment of sixteen leaves from section D of a GEL table in which some of the Old Testament pericopes are written out in full. See note 82 above; Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 298; von Nolcken, “Lay Literacy”, pp. 177, 186 n. 3.

<sup>93</sup> The first leaf of the table is missing.

<sup>94</sup> No references to the Old Testament pericopes occur in section D. In sections V and S, only those Old Testament references are included for which the corresponding biblical book is included in the manuscript. For the manuscript and its idiosyncratic selection of texts, see the chapter by Elizabeth Solopova in this volume.

<sup>95</sup> The table refers to the *Oon of Foure*.

<sup>96</sup> The gospel lections refer to the *Oon of Foure*. See also Ann Eljenholm Nichols, “*Oon of Foure*: The Marginalia of Bodley 978”, *Journal of the Early Book Society* 1 (1997), 135–40 (at p. 135). I am grateful to Prof. Anne Hudson for information concerning the manuscript.

<sup>97</sup> The layout of the table is idiosyncratic. A liturgical calendar with references to the S pericopes is placed at the middle of each page, while the top and bottom areas of each page contain the DV pericopes.

<sup>98</sup> In the manuscript, the leaves forming the table are arranged in the wrong order. The correct order is ff. 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7–12.

<sup>99</sup> Incipits and explicits of pericopes are also indicated in the liturgical calendar which precedes the table of lections on fols. 1r–6v.

<sup>100</sup> Three leaves are lost from the table – two between the present fols. 7 and 8 in section D, one between fols. 12 and 13 in section S.

- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C. 259, fols. 241r–251r, DVS, GEL  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 49, fols. 9r–15r, DVS, G  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 51, fols. 13v–25r & 25v–32v, S & DV, GEL<sup>101</sup>  
 Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 10, fols. 3r–12v, DPCV, GEL  
 Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 145, fols. 1r–9r, DSV, GEL<sup>102</sup>  
 Oxford, Christ Church College, MS 146, fols. 1r–10r, DVS, GEL  
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 4, fols. 1r–6r, DPCV, GEL  
 Oxford, Oriel College, MS 80, fols. 1r–12r, DPCV, GEL  
 Oxford, Queen's College, MS 388, fols. 1r–7v, DVS, GEL  
 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 201, fols. 228r–236r, DPCV, GEL<sup>103</sup>  
 Princeton University, Scheide Library, MS 12, fols. 17v–22v, DVPC, GEL  
 Princeton University, Scheide Library MS 13, fols. 1r–11v, DVS, GEL  
 San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 134, fol. 1r<sup>104</sup>  
 Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya, MS 31, fols. 91r–96v, DVPC, GEL<sup>105</sup>  
 Tokyo, Toshiyuki Takamiya, Fragment, f<sup>106</sup>  
 Warminster, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath), MS 5, GEL, f<sup>107</sup>  
 Winchester College, MS 42, fols. 1r–15r, DVS, GEL  
 Windsor Castle, SGC Lib MS 4, fols. 1r–4v, DPC(V)<sup>108</sup>  
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, MS Guelferbytanus A 2 Augusteus 2°, fols. 1r–5v, DPCV, GEL  
 York Minster, MS XVI.N.7, fols. 1r–3v, GEL<sup>109</sup>  
 York Minster, MS XVI.O.1, fols. 1r–13r, DVS, GEL

<sup>101</sup> References to the Sanctorale pericopes are inserted into a liturgical calendar.

<sup>102</sup> One leaf is missing between fols. 7 and 8 (section S).

<sup>103</sup> Most incipits and explicits of the Old Testament pericopes are not provided.

<sup>104</sup> The table is acephalous, with only the last six entries of section S remaining; see the images and description of the manuscript available at *The Digital Scriptorium*, <http://scriptorium.columbia.edu/> (accessed 21 December, 2010). See note 82 above.

<sup>105</sup> I am grateful to Professor Takamiya for allowing me to inspect the manuscript.

<sup>106</sup> A leaf from section S of a GEL table in which some of the Old Testament pericopes are written out in full. See note 82 above. I am grateful to Professor Takamiya for allowing me to inspect the fragment and for providing me with an image of it.

<sup>107</sup> The table is atelous. See Henry Hargreaves, "The Marginal Glosses to the Wycliffite New Testament", *Studia Neophilologica* 33 (1961), 285–300 (at p. 294); von Nolcken, "Lay Literacy", p. 186 n. 4. I am grateful to Dr. Kate Harris, Librarian and Archivist at Longleat House, for information concerning the manuscript.

<sup>108</sup> Five leaves are missing from the table, including the last leaf, which very likely contained the votive Masses (section V).

<sup>109</sup> The table is acephalous; only three final leaves remain (from section S).



*olim* Francis Ferrand Foljambe, fols. 1–9, DVS, GEL (present location of the manuscript is unknown to me)<sup>110</sup>

*olim* Lord Peckover of Wisbech (present location of the manuscript is unknown to me)<sup>111</sup>

## 2. *Latin tables*

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 74, fols. 1r–2r & 3r–6v, S & D, GE<sup>112</sup>

London, British Library, MS Harley 4027, fols. 182r–183r & 184v–186r, D & S<sup>113</sup>

London, Dr Williams's Library, MS Anc. 7, fols. 1r–3v, D<sup>114</sup>

Oxford, New College, MS 67, fols. 172r–174v, DS<sup>115</sup>

## APPENDIX B: WYCLIFFITE INTERPOLATION IN LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS EGERTON 618, FOLS. 173R–173V

In the transcription of the passage, the original punctuation is modernised and all abbreviations silently expanded. Curly brackets indicate additions/corrections, possibly made in another contemporaneous hand. Cancellation is indicated as overstrike. *Italics* stand for rubrication. I wish to thank the British Library for permission to publish the text.

Some men wondren and ben astonyede in her inwittis whan þei reden þes lessouns of most holy fadris of þe holde lawe and seen hou her preysynge wiþouten reuelacioun or open euvidence of deser{u}ynge is souen boþe to men and wommen {now chepid<sup>116</sup> seyntis}, alle be it þat

<sup>110</sup> The table is attached to a previously unrecorded Wycliffite New Testament in LV, sold at Christie's, London, 30 April 2008, sale 7576, lot 166. A description of the manuscript is available through <http://www.christies.com> (accessed 28 May, 2012). According to the description, three leaves are missing from the beginning of the table and fol. 5 should precede fol. 4.

<sup>111</sup> *Catalogue of Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts*, Sotheby's, 3 December 1951, lot 18. The description of the manuscript refers to a "Calendar", which may stand for a table of lections. See also Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 306.

<sup>112</sup> There are two separate tables: S (fols. 1r–2r) and D (fols. 3r–6v); fol. 2v is blank.

<sup>113</sup> Section S is a combined liturgical calendar and table of lections.

<sup>114</sup> Section D does not cover the whole ecclesiastical year; see *MMBL*, 1:430.

<sup>115</sup> The table is atelous.

<sup>116</sup> The Middle English verb *chēpen* had a rarely attested sense 'to accept or approve'. A scribal error for *clēpen* 'to name, to call' seems, however, a more plausible interpretation in this case; see *Middle English Dictionary*, available through the *Middle English*

alle tyme of her lyfis wiþoute opyn renounsinge of her worldly glorie þei regnyden lordis and ladies boþe in name and in hauynge undur colour of bischopis, abbatis, prioris, and abbassis, and prioressis. Wherefore ennauntre we erre in þe sist of god in redinge þes lessouns after use of þe chirche nowe a dayes, it is no perel 3if we seeke holi writt to knowe of whome þes preisingis ben sayd, applynge hem to þe same seyntis whome holy writ appreueþ. Men reden of mani seyntis nowe a days of whome lityll euidence of holynesse is knowen to þe reders or heerers. *Non est inuentus similis illi qui conseruaret legem excelsi.* Þat is to saye, þer is not founden lijce to him whiche holy togidre kepide þe lawe of þe hizest. Also þe chirche redide *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in uita sua curauit gentem suam & liberauit illam a perdicione.* Þat is to saye, loo a greete preest whiche in his lijf heelide his folc of kynde and deliuerde it fro perdicoun. Wolde god þat men wolden asken her prestis þat setten þe glorie of presthode in þe fulfillinge of þe ordenaunces of her bischop{s}riches of whome þese preysingis and alle oþer þat ben rad in lessouns of þe comoun sanctorum ben sayde. And 3if þei kunne not telle hem þe grounde, þei schewe hemself to be disceyuours seruinge more for worldis goodis þan for helpe of soule, whose namis wiþouten doute, 3if þei schame not her folye amendinge hem, ben [fol. 173v] writen in erþe whiche schuln soone be wasche away. And þerfore it is most sikir counseyl to men of good wille desiringe þat þe wille of god be fulfillid in erþe as it is in heuene þat þei seke þes þingis and lessouns in þe bible knowinge of whome þei ben radde, zeuinge principali þe preysinge of hem to holy fadris of þe lawe, whom god in oure bileue apreueþ sayntis worþi alle preysinge.

## EPILOGUE<sup>1</sup>

Peter Stallybrass

These essays reveal above all the major advances in scholarship on the Late Medieval Bible in the last three decades.<sup>2</sup> Among the most important contributions of this volume is a new understanding of both the text and the format of Bibles that were produced between 1200 and 1400. Above all, they focus on one of the crucial stages in the development of “the Bible” as we now know it: namely, the invention of a single portable book, comprising the Old and the New Testament, following a specific order of the biblical texts, and divided into predetermined chapters. There were, of course, important later developments, including the re-translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and the Greek into both Latin and a wide range of vernaculars, the mass-production of Bibles printed on paper and the division of the biblical chapters into standardized verses. But it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the widespread production of the Bible for the first time with standardized texts and in a single portable volume.

### WHAT IS A BIBLE?

Before the making of the Torah (the massive scroll of the Pentateuch), each “book” of the Jewish Scriptures usually corresponded to a single scroll. If a text were too long to fit onto a scroll, it would be written on two scrolls. Hence First Samuel and Second Samuel; First Kings and Second Kings; First Chronicles and Second Chronicles. The division of these books

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<sup>1</sup> I am particularly indebted for advice and suggestions to Laura Light, Eyal Poleg, Alexander Devine, and Simran Thadani.

<sup>2</sup> See in particular Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1991) and their *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000); Laura Light, *The Bible in the Twelfth Century: An Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); and M.B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991). For earlier Bibles and the Bible more generally, see *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994) and de Hamel, *The Book*. The website of Sandra Hindman's Les Enluminures, Paris, Chicago, and New York, gives superb evidence of the crucial significance of detailed cataloguing to the understanding of the late medieval books. See <http://www.textmanuscripts.com>.

between two scrolls, while it might later be given a textual significance, was the result of a simple material necessity. The reverse also occurred: if the texts were very short, several could be copied onto a single scroll. Hence, the Twelve Minor [i.e. “short”] Prophets, contained on a single scroll. (The first such scroll of the Twelve Prophets at Qumran dates from the mid-second century BCE). Given that most of the books of the Bible do not follow on from each other textually, like, say, the consecutive books (i.e. scrolls) of the *Iliad*, the *sequence* of the scrolls was always problematic, and there was considerable Rabbinic debate about the different ways in which the “Writings” could be ordered, long after the Pentateuch scroll had given a definitive order to the first five books of the Bible, whose historical sequence is clearer than in many other biblical books.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to Jewish scrolls, the codices that Christians adopted from the very beginning always raised the immediate question of how to order the biblical books. Nevertheless, the creation of a single-volume Bible was a slow and laborious process. The word “Bible” is derived from the Greek *biblia*, the plural form of *biblion*,<sup>4</sup> meaning the inner bark of the papyrus reed. “Bible” thus originally referred to the material support on which any oral text could be transcribed. But the word was increasingly used to refer to written scrolls, including the scrolls that constituted the Jewish scriptures. While Christians very early adopted the codex form for their own versions of the scriptures, they did not at first have the technology to bind them together in a single volume.<sup>5</sup> In other words, like the Jewish scriptures, the Christian Bible was separated out into multiple volumes. When *biblia* was transliterated from Greek into Latin, it was as a neuter plural. In the fourth century C.E., St. Jerome did not think of “the Bible” in the singular. He referred to the scriptures as a *bibliotheca*, a word derived from the Greek for a container of scrolls and meaning, by extension,

<sup>3</sup> The *Tanakh* or Jewish “Bible” was divided into the *Torah* (the five books of Moses), *Nevi'im* (“Prophets”), and *Ketuvim* (“Writings”), although the date at which this tripartite division was fully established is disputed.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblion* is in turn a diminutive form of *biblos*.

<sup>5</sup> On the codex form of the Christian Bible, see Colin H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983); Robert A. Kraft, “The Codex and Canon Consciousness” in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (Peabody, 2002), pp. 229–33; Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, 1997); Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006). On the belated adoption of the codex by Jews see Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology* (London, 1992), pp. 11–12, and David Stern, “The First Jewish Books and the History of Jewish Reading”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98:2 (Spring 2008), 163–202. “Scripture” itself at first meant simply material forms of inscription: *scriptura* or “writing.”

a library or collection of scrolls. By the ninth century C.E., however, *biblia* began to be used as a feminine singular noun to mean not “scrolls” or “books” but “the book”. The change in the word’s case and gender reflects, I believe, a new development in the material technology of the scriptures. From the sixth to the eighth centuries, the scriptures began to be gathered together into massive codices known as pandects, single volumes that defined what did and, by exclusion, what did not count as divine Scripture.<sup>6</sup> Above all, the pandect, whether a sixth-century codex or as a thirteenth-century complete pocket Bible, gave a new material sense of the Christian Bible as a single canonical work.

While a new one-volume Bible was created in the thirteenth century, most people continued to know the Bible throughout the late Middle Ages in the dispersed and primarily oral form of the liturgy. But sixteenth-century Protestants were able to adapt and give a new ideological significance to what was by then three centuries of Bibles that brought together the biblical texts in a single material form. Reformers actively contrasted the sacred book to Catholic liturgical practices. In the 1549 Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, for instance, Thomas Cranmer asserted that the Protestant parishioner would now need only two books (the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer) restoring the “godly and decent ordre of the auncient fathers” that “hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertein stories, Legendes, Respondes, Verses, vaine repetitions, Commemmaracions, and Synodalles, that commonly when any boke of the Bible was began: before three or foure Chapiters were read out, all the rest were unread.” The “planting in” of additional books made Catholic services both expensive (because of the number of books) and difficult to perform: “to turne the boke onlye, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times, there was more busines to fynd out what should be read, then to read it when it was faunde out.” Cranmer’s point, antagonistic as it is, points to what no Catholic would have denied: namely, that the Catholic liturgy contained much more than “the Bible” in the sense of a single, clearly defined volume. Indeed, the liturgies of the Mass and of the Hours had little use for a Bible, since they made use of specialized part-books for different officiants. As Diane Reilly notes above, prior to the twelfth

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<sup>6</sup> The earliest surviving pandect is the Codex Amiatinus (Laur. MS Amiatino 1), produced in Northumbria in the early eighth century and transported to Rome in 715. It weighs over 34 kg and is made up of the skins of 515 calves. See R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus* (Jarrow, 1967), p. 2. For Cassiodorus’s pandect in the sixth century, see Raphael Loewe, “The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2, *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 116-7.

century, Bibles were almost exclusively monastic, while parish churches primarily used liturgical books. To Cranmer, of course, it was precisely these liturgical books that should be replaced with the bible: one should “cut off[f] Anthemes, Responses, Invitatories, and suche like thynges, as did breake the continuall course of the readyng of the scripture.” Protestants thus attacked the “uncertain stories” and “Legendes” that, they claimed, subverted scriptural truth, while emphasizing continuous reading of the bible.

But, contested as they indeed were among Catholics, what Protestants called “Legendes” were for Catholics crucial to the traditions of the church, traditions that illuminated the Bible and, indeed, rewrote it in significant ways. Let me give just one example. At the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew in Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 1 (ca. 1250), the historiated *L* of *Liber* depicts the Virgin lying in bed, with a swaddled Christ in a manger beside her. Above her, an ox and an ass appear to be conversing with each other.<sup>7</sup> The ox and the ass are, of course, a standard part of Christmas crèches today, but they appear nowhere in the Gospels. Luke, it is true, says that Christ was born in a stable (whereas Matthew says he was born in a house), but there is no mention of animals. So why are the ox and the ass there and why are they so central to the iconography of the nativity throughout the late Middle Ages? In the apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (ca. 600 C.E.), the Virgin gives birth to Christ in a cave, proceeding three days later to a stable, where she puts the child in a manger, where “the ox and the ass adored him, fulfilling the prophecies of Isaiah and Habakkuk.”<sup>8</sup> In other words, for the author of *Pseudo-Matthew*, the nativity *requires* the presence of the ox and the ass so that the Old Testament prophecies may be fulfilled. The prophecy of Isaiah is that “the ox knows its owner, and the donkey its master’s crib; but Israel does not know, my people do not understand” (1.3); the prophecy of Habbakuk is that “in the midst of two animals thou shalt be known” (3.2).

This prophetic reading of Isaiah and Habbakuk had striking implications for the ways in which the visual and textual traditions alike elaborated the post-biblical revelations that, when authorized by canonization, effectively rewrote scripture. Thus, when St. Bridget was canonized as a

<sup>7</sup> *Biblia Sacra* (England?, ca. 1250), formerly owned by Samuel Addington, Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 1, fol. 331r (<http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:895232?n=63>, consulted 11 February 2013).

<sup>8</sup> *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses*, ed. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1953), p. 75.

saint on 7 October 1391, her vision of the Nativity, revealed to her in Bethlehem on 13 March 1372, both added to and contradicted the already-contradictory accounts of Matthew and Luke. According to Matthew, Christ is seen by the Magi in a *house* (2.11) while Luke has him born in a *stable* or in an alley-way (2.7);<sup>9</sup> but in Bridget's revelation, he is born in a *cave*. Bridget here follows the apocryphal *Book of James* (ca. 150 C.E.), where Joseph, "in the midst of the way," says to Mary: "'Whither shall I take thee to hide thy shame? For the place is desert.' And he found a cave there and brought her into it."<sup>10</sup> At the same time, St. Bridget sees Christ not in a manger but on the ground, casting a bright light: "I saw that glorious infant lying on the earth, naked and glowing in the greatest of neatness."<sup>11</sup> There is no mention of the cave or the glowing child lying on the ground in either Matthew or Luke, but these two details were rapidly and strikingly incorporated into depictions of the Nativity.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The stable is itself an interpretation. Luke simply says that Mary laid Christ "downe in a manger: because there was not place for them in the inne." *The Golden Legend* claims that Christ was born in an alley-way: "So Joseph and Mary came to Bethlehem. They were poor and could find no lodging in the inns, which were already full of people who had come for the same purpose, so they had to take shelter in a public passage. This passage, according to the *Scholastic History*, was located between two houses" (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan [Princeton, N.J., 1993], p. 38).

<sup>10</sup> *Book of James* in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> Saint Bridget, *Life and Selected Visions*, ed. Marguerite Tjader Harris and Albert Ryle Kezel (New York, 1990), p. 203.

<sup>12</sup> Two paintings by Niccolò di Tommaso of *St Bridget's Vision of the Nativity*, both ca. 1377 (one now in the Pinacoteca at the Vatican, the other in the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art), were probably produced in support of the canonization process for Bridget of Sweden, that was initiated in 1377. They depict not only Bridget herself as an onlooker to her own vision but most of the specific details that she recorded: the Virgin with uncovered hair wearing only her tunic, having taken off her other garments and shoes, kneeling in prayer with her back to the manger; Christ lying on the earth before her, radiating light; the ox and the ass looking on; Joseph, with a candle that, although lit, gives off no light "because that divine splendor totally annihilated the material splendor of the candle"; the cave in which the whole scene takes place. Several of these elements were incorporated into a wide range of nativity scenes after Bridget's canonization on 7 October 1391. These scenes include, among many others, paintings by Lorenzo Monaco (1414, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence: cave and shining baby); the Master of Flémalle (ca. 1420, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon: the Virgin kneeling with uncovered hair wearing only her shift; the shining baby, the stable in the middle of the countryside, backed up against rocks, Joseph holding a candle that gives no light, with the addition of the two midwives from the Apocryphal Gospel of St. James); Gentile da Fabriano (1423, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence: cave and shining baby, with the addition of the two midwives from the Apocryphal Gospel of St. James); Fra Angelico (1440–1, Convento di San Marco, Florence: cave and shining baby); Sano di Pietro (1445, Pinacoteca, Vatican: cave, shining baby, and the Virgin kneeling in prayer, wearing only her shift); the Master of Avila (1474–76, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid: the Virgin kneeling with uncovered hair, the shining baby, Joseph holding a candle that gives no light).

It was precisely such “elaborations” that Calvin attacked as Catholic “Legendes”. In his commentary on Isaiah’s *The Ox knoweth his owner, and the Ass his masters Crib*, Calvin writes:

... the Papists (whose custome is to ouerthrow the natiue sense of the Scripture and by their dreames do corrupt all the mysteries of God haue here found out a notable fable: for they make men beleeeue that the *Oxen* and the *Asses* did worship our Lord Iesus Christ lying in the cratch after he was borne: wherein they shew themselues to bee excellent asses. And yet would to God that they themselues would follow the poore Ass which they haue forged! namely, that they were Asses worshipping the Lord Iesus Christ, and not rather wincing and kicking against his Maiestie with their heeles. For the Prophet speaks not here of a miracle, but of the order of nature... We neede not to forge new miracles then to giue authoritie to Iesus Christ: for so, by mingling the false with the true, this inconuenience would follow vpon it, *that none would beleeeue either the one or the other*.<sup>13</sup>

Two points are worth noting here. First, Calvin implicitly accepts the *presence* of the ox and ass at Christ’s birth that Catholic tradition had established. Second, and more importantly, the “natiue sense of the Scripture”, unaccompanied by glosses, had already been materialized in the thirteenth-century Paris Bible. Indeed, the Paris Bible was the precondition for Calvin’s emphasis on the literal meaning of the text. I noted above the [mis]reading of Habbkuk 3.2 as “in medio duorum animalium in notesceris” (“in the midst of two animals thou shalt be known”). But I have never seen this reading in a thirteenth-century Bible. All of the copies that I have examined read *annorum* rather than *duorum animalium* (“Domine opus tuum in medio annorum vivifica illud. In medio annorum notum facies cum iratus fueris misericordie recordaberis” [“O Lord, thy work, in the midst of the years bring it to life: In the midst of the years thou shalt make it known: when thou art angry, thou wilt remember mercy”]).<sup>14</sup> At the same time, glosses, such a striking feature of many medieval Bibles, are excluded in the pocket Bibles, although they were sometimes added by later readers. In other words, many of the features that Calvin presupposed for reading the “natiue sense of the Scripture” were thirteenth-century innovations.

<sup>13</sup> Jean Calvin, *A Commentary vpon the Prophecie of Isaiah.... Translated out of French into English: by C. C.* (London, 1609), p. 3. Calvin is probably attacking *The Golden Legend*: “The ox and the ass, miraculously recognizing the Lord, went to their knees and worshiped him” (*Golden Legend*, 38).

<sup>14</sup> On the mistranslation of Habbakuk 3:2 in the *Vetus Itala*, following the Septuagint, see Austin West, “The Ox and Ass Legend of the Nativity”, *Continental Review* 84 (1903), 873–83. The English translation of the New Testament is taken from *The New Testament of Iesus Christ* (Rheims, 1582).



## WHAT ARE THE USES OF A BIBLE?

The new forms of thirteenth-century Bible made possible the use of a *single book* both for reading the Bible continuously from Genesis to the Apocalypse and, antithetically, for the kind of discontinuous reading that Christianity had always stressed, whether the liturgical readings of the church year, typological reading (collating the Old with the New Testaments so as to interpret the Old Testament “types”), or cross-referencing (noting passages that are reused or explicated in another place, as in the Eusebian practice of collating the four gospels with each other). The most crucial aspect of the liturgy from the perspective of the Bible as a book was that it required one to leap about from one passage to another and one book to another, depending upon the particular requirements of the day that was being celebrated. Laura Light notes that the most common additional materials to be found in thirteenth-century pandects are “liturgical texts, including calendars, capitularies (that is, lists of liturgical readings for the Mass), texts for the Divine Office, and .... Missals or other texts for the Mass.”

This extended beyond the Latin Bible. As Matti Peikola notes, about 40% of surviving Wycliffite Bibles contain tables of lections and the crucial point about these tables is that they would have been of little use unless the Bibles with which they were bound had already been made *navigable* – in the case of Late Medieval Bibles by the addition of running headers in alternating red and blue letters to identify the individual books of the Bible and of chapter numbers to find the specific passage required (and, in some cases, of “in principio”, “in medio”, or “in fine” to help find the place within a chapter) and in the case of Wycliffite Bibles with the further addition of letters dividing each chapter into parts. In other words, the Bible-Missal as a usable text depended precisely upon the innovations of the thirteenth-century pandects. Paul Saenger’s essay in this volume details the development of these and other navigational aids in thirteenth-century Bibles, which transformed the ways in which Bibles were read and consulted.<sup>15</sup> Just how significant these chapter divisions

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<sup>15</sup> On navigational aids, see Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, “Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page” and “The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century” in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, 1991), pp. 191–219 and 221–55. For later developments, see Paul Saenger, “The Impact of the Early Printed Page on the History of Reading”, *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2 (1996), 237–301, Margaret M. Smith, “Printed Foliation: Forerunner to Printed Page-Numbers?” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 63 (1988), 54–70, and Peter Stallybrass, “Books and

were is demonstrated by how often they were added to earlier Bibles that did not have them. Similarly, Richard Gameson emphasizes not only the acquisition by Durham Cathedral of one of the new Paris Bibles as a primary tool for biblical reference but also the complete or partial updating of their earlier Bibles with the addition of chapter divisions, Psalm numbers and other navigational aids. While Sabina Magrini examines Late Medieval Bibles that were impervious to these navigational aids, she notes that one can immediately distinguish the ones that have been adapted to the new system by the presence of added chapter numbers and also sub-sections. Once chapter divisions were established and relatively standardized, it made the navigation that cross-referencing depends upon much simpler and faster.

To take just one instance, in a thirteenth-century Bible, probably copied in Italy, Deuteronomy 25 is cross-referenced in an early hand to “2 cor. xi”, while the next section (25.4) is cross-referenced to “1 cor. 9”.<sup>16</sup> Fortunately, I have not had to track down the verse numbers. Turning to the King James Bible, by which point the Bible was, of course, divided into verses, I find exactly the same two cross-references printed in the margin, although now with the addition of verse numbers: for Deuteronomy 25.3, “2 Cor. 11. 24”; for 25.4, “1 Cor. 9.9”.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the King James Bible was simply following a well-established tradition in reading these passages from Deuteronomy in relation to their Pauline explication in the two epistles to the Corinthians, while adding the additional navigational tool of verse numbers.<sup>18</sup> Such cross-references only become practical to less-than-expert readers/ memorizers if one can navigate a Bible easily.

This would not have been a simple task at first, for the very reason that the Paris Bible was only beginning to establish a specific order to the biblical books. It is not surprising, then, to find copies equipped with tables of contents. Houghton Library, MS Lat 354 (France, ca. 1280), for instance,

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Scrolls: Navigating the Bible” in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 42–79.

<sup>16</sup> *Biblia Latina* (Italy?, thirteenth century), Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 295. Note the mixed use of Roman and Arabic numerals, and see Sabina Magrini’s essay in this volume (p. 351).

<sup>17</sup> *The Holy Bible [=King James Bible]* (London, 1611).

<sup>18</sup> Deuteronomy 25.3: “Fourtie stripes he may giue him, and not exceed: lest if he should exceede, and beate him aboue these, with many stripes, then thy brother should seeme vile vnto thee [2 Cor 11.24].” 2 Corinthians 11.24: “Of the lewes fīue times receiued I forty stripes saue one [Dt 25.3].” Deuteronomy 23.4: “Thou shalt not mussell the oxe when he treadeth [Hebr. *thresheth*] out the corne [1 Cor 9.9; 1 Tim 5.18].” 1 Corinthians 9.9: “For it is written in the Law of Moyses [Dt 25.4], Thou shalt not muzzell the mouth of the oxe that treadeth out the corne: doth God take care for oxen?”

has a list of the books of the Bible, in order, on the back pastedown. The list is in a late medieval hand, and the name of each book is followed by the number of chapters that the book contains.<sup>19</sup> This is again the practice of the King James Bible, which was printed with a page with “The names and order of all the Bookes of the Olde and New Testament, with the Numbers of their Chapters”. Anyone who has taught the Bible to students who are unfamiliar with it will know just how essential such lists are – and perhaps even for more expert readers who may not always remember where, exactly, Nahum or Baruch appear. The *Summarium Biblicum* that Lucie Doležalová discusses above often appeared in the form of 220 “non-sense” verses in late medieval Bibles as an aid to memorizing the Bible, a single keyword epitomizing each chapter. But in memorizing the chapters, one would have been at the same time memorizing the order of the biblical books as the Paris Bible had redefined it, in addition to the order of the chapters in each book. In other words, the stabilizing of the order of the books and chapters that the Paris Bible achieved encouraged the development of further tools for mentally encompassing this new form of pandect.

One of the most important new tools was the Interpretation of Hebrew Names, which Eyal Poleg traces in detail. As Poleg emphasizes, even the systematic alphabetization of the index was a slow process – but one that became significantly more important when the IHN was systematically bound as part of thirteenth-century pandects. Of course, the IHN was in itself a one-way index: that is, one could read one of the Hebrew Names in the Bible and then look it up in the Index, but one could not reverse the process, since the Index was not cross-referenced to the specific biblical passages. It is all the more striking, then, that a thirteenth-century pandect like Houghton Library, MS Typ 4, which was written without the IHN, had the Index added shortly afterwards on a coarser parchment and in a cruder hand, while the Index was itself fully annotated with the necessary cross-references to the biblical passages. But, as Poleg convincingly argues, the function of the IHN was less to give philological exactitude than to “create a tension between the original text and the interpretation of the word, a tension that could then be utilized by readers, exegetes or preachers for their own needs.” At the same time, the IHN provided a practical basis for the etymological amplification that was used for new forms of preaching.

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<sup>19</sup> *Biblia Latina* (France, ca. 1280), previously owned by Marie-François, Duschene de Beaumanoir, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 354; *King James Bible*.

For all the achievements of the thirteenth-century innovations in the production of pandects, I would like to raise three major problems in relation to their use. The first concerns the cost of these Bibles, about which we certainly do not know enough, particularly when it comes to the beautiful thin parchment that was used for so many of the pocket Bibles. Although such manuscripts would, of course, have required only a fraction of the skins used in the making of the giant Romanesque Bibles, the fineness of the parchment (from whatever animal it came and however it was prepared) must surely have meant that it was always a luxury item. As Elizabeth Solopova notes above, of thirty-six priced Latin Bibles between 1300 and 1530, twenty-three cost from £2 to £4, eight over £4, and five under £2.<sup>20</sup> Nor were vernacular Bibles any cheaper according to the little evidence that we have. A Wycliffite Bible belonging to Thomas of Gloucester was valued at £2 in 1397, while a London bookseller's second-hand copy, which had formerly belonged to Henry IV, was valued at £5. These were admittedly aristocratic Bibles, but a Wycliffite manuscript of the New Testament alone, bought by "my moder", cost £4 6s 8d in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Books of Hours could certainly be bought more cheaply and in the fifteenth century a York baker owned one valued at 9s, while a York canon's Book of Hours, "covered with red velvet", was valued at 6s 8d. And at the lowest end of the scale a goldsmith's primer was valued in 1490 at sixpence.<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to get an accurate sense of what these prices would mean today, but one modern estimate is that £3 in 1300 would be worth £1,850.00 in 2010 according to the retail price index and £39,000 in terms of average earnings (with a chantry priest earning £4 13s 4d in 1379 and a labourer earning a maximum of £2 in 1300).<sup>23</sup> Friars certainly did use Bibles, as Laura Light's work on the specific texts of Bible-Missals shows, but their purchase was more likely to have been institutional than personal, given the staggering cost of even the plainest of Bibles.

Nothing could radically reduce the major expense of copying long texts, which, as Diane Booton notes, was for the scribal labour involved.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Bell, "Price of Books", p. 329.

<sup>21</sup> Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Versions* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 44 and 47.

<sup>22</sup> See Elizabeth Solopova's essay in this volume.

<sup>23</sup> See [http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/result.php?use%5B%5D=CPI&use%5B%5D=NOMINALEARN&year\\_early=1300&pound71=3&shilling71=&pence71=&amount=3&year\\_source=1300&year\\_result=2012](http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/result.php?use%5B%5D=CPI&use%5B%5D=NOMINALEARN&year_early=1300&pound71=3&shilling71=&pence71=&amount=3&year_source=1300&year_result=2012), consulted 26 December 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Diane E. Booton, "Notes on Manuscript Production and Valuation in Late-Medieval Brittany", *The Library*, 7th series 7:2 (June 2006), 127–53. On the price of parchment and paper, see Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une Histoire du Livre Manuscrit au Moyen Âge. vol 1, La Production du Livre Manuscrit en France du Nord* (Paris, 1980), pp. 32–6.

In 1420 a parish in Brittany contracted with a priest to copy a Missal and a Psalter on good vellum with a dozen illuminated letters and smaller initials in vermilion and azure, estimating that it would take him eighteen months. He was to be paid 80 livres, half in advance and half on delivery, as well as a daily allowance for bread and wine. And in 1485, another Brittany priest was paid 12s 6d a quire by Tréguier Cathedral for a twenty-quire gradual, amounting to £12 10s. Three years later, the same cathedral paid a different scribe 20s 8d a quire for an Antiphonal. As Booton concludes, “whether large or small, the wage paid to a skilled scribe – not the cost of the parchment and materials – was the principal expense of a new manuscript.”<sup>25</sup> Scribal wages could be significantly lower than that, and Bozzolo and Ornato estimate that the average scribal wage in France from 1396 to 1478 ranged between 7s 4d and 9s 4d per quire. But luxury manuscripts were paid at a far higher rate: Gillet Daunai, for instance, was paid 34s 4d per quire for a large Bible commissioned by Philippe le Hardi, duke of Burgundy.<sup>26</sup>

Above all, there was no significant way of speeding up the process of writing an ecclesiastical manuscript in a clear professional script. Bozzolo and Ornato estimate that a scribe’s average production per day was 2.85 folios in quaternion quires, but it was often significantly slower, depending on the size of the page and the number of lines thereon. Christopher de Hamel, for instance, estimates that the scribes who produced the Giant Bible of Mainz wrote a single leaf each day, and the catalogues of Les Enluminures reveal similar or even slower rates. Although Johannes Tyrolf, a Southern German scribe, was capable of copying about nine pages a day, it took him twenty days in 1435 to copy twenty-seven pages of texts by St. Jerome. And Egidius Alemanus averaged a single page (half a folio) per day when making a copy of Nicholas of Lyra’s *Postilla* between 1451 and 1455.<sup>27</sup> It would never have been a quick process to copy out a complete

<sup>25</sup> Booton, “Notes on Manuscript Production”, pp. 127, 136–7, 140.

<sup>26</sup> Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une Histoire du Livre Manuscrit*, pp 39–40; Booton, “Notes”, p. 140.

<sup>27</sup> Bozzolo and Ornato, *Pour une Histoire du Livre Manuscrit*, pp. 46–47; Christopher de Hamel, “Dates in the Giant Bible of Mainz” in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance* (London, 2006), pp. 173–83; [http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript\\_description.php?id=3167](http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript_description.php?id=3167) (consulted 18 December, 2012); [http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript\\_description.php?id=3048&%20cat=all&](http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript_description.php?id=3048&%20cat=all&) (consulted 18 December, 2012). See also [http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript\\_description.php?id=3024](http://www.textmanuscripts.com/manuscript_description.php?id=3024) (consulted 18 December, 2012) for an account of anonymous Bohemian scribe who was copying about a leaf a day of Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus’s commentary on Peter Lombard in 1469–70. See also Michael Gullick, “How Fast Did Scribes Write? Evidence from Romanesque Manuscripts” in

pandect Bible, however small the dimensions of the volume might have been. This is one of the reasons that it does not seem to me useful to talk about “mass production”. At the same time, illustrations of any kind could add substantially to the cost – and most pocket Bibles have at least some illuminations. Even a small amount of illumination could be extraordinarily expensive. In 1489, Paul Kergazon was paid £3 8s 6d for a mere nine letters, painted in gold, azure, and other colours in a Gradual, although, given the size of the nine letters may required substantial work. And in 1486, the Parisian illuminator Jacques de Besançon was paid £13 8s for painting initials and decorations in a Gradual.<sup>28</sup>

Even if, as Bozzoli and Ornato argue, manuscripts decreased in cost during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with paper gradually replacing parchment, the combined costs of materials, copying, and illumination would have always made a complete Bible out of reach to all but a small and wealthy elite. Poorer Lollards, prosecuted for the ownership of Wycliffite texts, were rarely if ever the owners of complete Bibles. When Alice Rowley, the widow of a Coventry draper, was prosecuted in 1511, it was for the former possession of two books, one on the commandments and the other “de epistolis Jacobi” (either the Catholic Epistles or the Epistle of James by itself). And when the illiterate skinner John Claydon was burned at the stake in 1415, it was for having a copy of the Wycliffite *The Lantern of Light* made for and read aloud to him.

The second problem relates only to the pocket Bibles: namely, the size of the script. With the best modern lighting and glasses, I still can only read many of these Bibles extremely slowly. Admittedly, this is not my field and I do not spend as much time as I should reading radically abbreviated Latin texts in minute characters. But let me take the passage from Habakkuk that I noted above. This is how it appears in Penn Codex 724, (I have used dashes instead of the various abbreviation marks in the manuscript):

D-ne op- tuu- i- medio anno- uiufica ill-d. I- medio an-o- notu- facies:  
cu- irat- fue-is m-ie recordab-is.

Eighteen words, fourteen of which are abbreviated, in a minute script. This is not a difficult passage, and a competent reader whose eyesight was

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*Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Oxford, 1995), pp. 39–58. Bozzolo and Ornato, however, reveal the radical difference in speed and price in the late Middle Ages between “écrivains de forme”, who wrote in a cursive script, and “écrivains de lecture”, who wrote in a book hand (pp. 39–40).

<sup>28</sup> Booton, “Notes on Manuscript Production”, p. 142; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 2:55–56.

good enough to read it at all would not take long to figure most of it out. (I had to look up *m-ie*, since I did not know that it was the standard abbreviation for *misericordie*). But the problem would surely have been exacerbated in the case of Light's Bible-Missals, which clearly seem intended for liturgical use – when the lighting would be a mixture of occasional refracted sun through small windows and guttering candles, and where a priest peering with his eyes an inch or two from the page so as to officiate would surely have seemed unusual, given how large many Missals are. Moreover, an officiant could not always be holding the book up to his face, since he needed his hands to perform a range of other ritual functions. It should not be surprising, then, that some of these manuscripts, like Penn Codex 236 (a Bible-Missal), bear “remarkably few signs of use” (Light). And as Diane Reilly notes, in contrast to the many Giant Bibles that were revised and adapted for reading aloud for hundreds of years, “the smaller, portable, closely-written Bibles most popular in the later Middle Ages retain little evidence that they were read out loud communally and used as the basis for elementary scriptural instruction.”

The third problem relates to how Late Medieval Bibles were actually used in practice. Since the rise in the study of readers and readership, exemplified by such marvelous scholarship as William Sherman's *Used Books*,<sup>29</sup> we have become much more attentive to how books were and are used, but we have perhaps failed to pay as much attention to how they were and are *not* used. I am often ashamed to see how many of my own books are marked up only in their introduction and conclusions – and perhaps for the analysis of a single text that I happen to be teaching. And I recently discovered that I own no fewer than three copies of Jacques Le Goff's *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages* – all of them equally unopened and unread. Thanks to Simran Thadarni, I became particularly aware of this problem when she was cataloguing incunabula Bibles in Philadelphia. One of her most remarkable findings was how many of the Bibles showed effectively no use at all – apart, for instance, from an original inscription recording the donation of the Bible to a monastery. Perhaps such Bibles were given in exchange

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<sup>29</sup> William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008). For two foundational earlier studies of readers' practices, see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy”, *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30–78, and Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, “Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England” in *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 102–24.

for prayers – in which case the books can be said to have been doing a lot of active work.<sup>30</sup> But they were not being *read*. Many of the thirteenth-century pocket Bibles that I have seen are in astonishingly good condition – not only are they often complete (which is extremely rare in the case of the surviving early quartos of Shakespeare's plays, which are usually missing leaves, particularly at the beginning and end) but also they are sometimes almost pristine. Their appearance may, of course, be partly due to expert nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorers – but repairs certainly do not tell the whole story. One of my favorite thirteenth-century Bibles (Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E28, Paris, ca. 1270) has two fascinating marginal annotations. At 2 Regum 24.15, a hand in red ink points in from the margin with the note “de peste”, perhaps referring to the bubonic plague in the mid-fourteenth century (the verse reads: “So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel, from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beer-sheba, seventy thousand men”); and a few pages earlier, in the margin at 2 Regum 18.14, there is just the head of Absalom at the moment of his death, his hair standing on end, entangled in the branch of a tree, drawn in black ink. There is no evidence that the Bible has been cleaned – but equally little evidence that it was read, apart from when it was first copied and corrected and when two later readers made annotations to specific passages.

Even when pocket Bibles *have* been read, it is often only specific books and passages that appear to have been of importance, judging by the general wear and tear. Houghton MS Typ 4, a pocket-Bible from the second half of the thirteenth century, for instance, has been heavily marked up from chapters 4 to 7 in Luke, and Isaiah has also been annotated and corrected relatively fully in an early hand. Houghton fMS Lat 36, which contains a table of Mass readings, has been sporadically annotated throughout – but intensively for Jerome's first prologue, Daniel, the four books of Kings (i.e. Samuel and Kings), and the beginning of Matthew. By contrast, an early reader of Houghton MS Lat 264, a French pocket Bible copied ca. 1300, began with the obvious intention of annotating the whole Bible consecutively, beginning at Genesis. The marginalia, including summaries and philological notes on the Hebrew, continues through Exodus but then tapers off and all but stops in Leviticus, despite

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<sup>30</sup> On “common-profit” books that were sometimes lent or given in exchange for prayers, see Wendy Scase, “Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter and John Colop's ‘Common-Profit’ Books: Aspects of Book Ownership and Circulation in Fifteenth-Century London”, *Medium Aevum* 61 (1992), 261–74 and Dove, *The First English Bible*, pp. 41 and 51–54.



the occasional flower or manicule, and a sudden revival of interest in David, particularly at 1 Regum, chapters 17 to 26. And in the Psalms, there is both extensive cross-referencing and, in a later hand, the addition of Arabic numerals. Finally, an Oxford pocket Bible like Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis E 29 (a Bible of ca. 1230–40 illuminated by William de Brailles) shows very distinctive evidence of use: while much of the Bible is relatively clean, the Psalms have been almost ‘read to death’, the rubbing so extensive as to make several passages unreadable. This is particularly surprising in an English pocket Bible, from which the psalms were often excluded for the simplest of reasons: they were the most frequently read/performed part of the whole Bible, and they were readily accessible in separate Psalters, many of which were specifically prepared for liturgical use. Indeed, in a Wycliffite Bible at St. John’s College, Oxford, the Psalms that were once a part of it have been deliberately removed – no doubt, as Mary Dove suggests, “for convenience of use”.<sup>31</sup>

The question of “convenience of use”, however, remains a problem in relation to the Late Medieval Bible and above all to pocket Bibles written in minute scripts. If these Bibles were so useful, how do we explain the quite remarkable decline in the production of them in the fourteenth century? As Chiara Ruzzier notes above, “The production of portable Bibles began during the third decade of the thirteenth century, increased significantly up to the middle of the century, reached its peak during the second half and then rapidly collapsed at the beginning of the fourteenth century.” That collapse is remarkable, and cannot, I think, be explained by “the very long usable lifetime of these objects.” While at a literal level, this is undoubtedly true, it begs the question of why a few thousand Bibles were enough to supply European demand by the beginning of the fourteenth century, when more than a million Bibles were required in England alone in the seventeenth century, or why in the fifteenth century there should have been an inexhaustible demand for Books of Hours but not for Bibles. That the so-called Wycliffite “Bibles” of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were so rarely complete Bibles is as much a departure from the thirteenth-century pandects as that they were vernacular translations. Of the 250 or so Wycliffite biblical manuscripts that Mary Dove lists, only twenty surviving copies are complete Bibles. At most, seventeen more may be parts of what were once complete Bibles. By contrast, 176 of these manuscripts consist solely of parts or the whole of the New Testament,

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<sup>31</sup> Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 63.

and 111 contain the whole of the New Testament (with or without other biblical texts).<sup>32</sup> In other words, the one-volume pandects of the thirteenth century provided a model that was as honoured as much in the breach as the observance.

In my view, we are thus still left with some fundamental paradoxes. Thirteenth-century pandects were produced in large quantities and were adapted for a wide range of functions but they did not have obvious uses in the way that, say, Missals, Antiphonaries, and Books of Hours usually did. Both their single-volume format and their incorporation of new navigational aids, however, did indeed suggest new uses, whether the continuous reading of the Bible outside any formal monastic rule, the rapid collation of passages throughout the Bible, or the employment of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names to enrich and complicate the biblical text as well as to provide a stimulus to new forms of preaching. In other words, the Late Medieval Bible was an attempt to create a usable kind of book where there had previously been no clear demand for one. This is all the more powerfully suggested by Sabina Magrini's account of the significant exceptions: Bibles that were made without reference to the Paris reforms. Many of which were both beautiful and prestigious but, she concludes, very few "bear traces of actual use". By contrast, most of the essays in this volume show how the Late Medieval Bible reconceptualized the scriptures through its innovative materializations, materialization that would shape "the Bible" as we now know it.

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<sup>32</sup> Dove, *The First English Bible*, pp. 17–18 and "Index of Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Version", pp. 281–306.

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## COLOR PLATES



84  
~pnas~  
vnde ait de reddere. & dixit dominus pater. s. diabolo. In mundi curia. euome  
et fua que sedet hominem a pao. 7 euomit. non uolens resistere uoluntate.  
qui dicit hominem sine pna posse iustificari. pnam 7 p. est ut p pnam  
sue iniquitatem impet ceto. **¶** Item dicitur dominus ad ionam sdo di  
abolitum sue iniquitatis ionas 7 non impatur ei fuga pcedens qz sequi; hora ho  
mi. 7 e. ut p qz euomit ionas 7 non impatur ei fuga pcedens qz sequi; hora ho  
mi. 7 e. ut p qz euomit ionas 7 non impatur ei fuga pcedens qz sequi; hora ho

Figure 2.3. Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1046, fol. 84r.

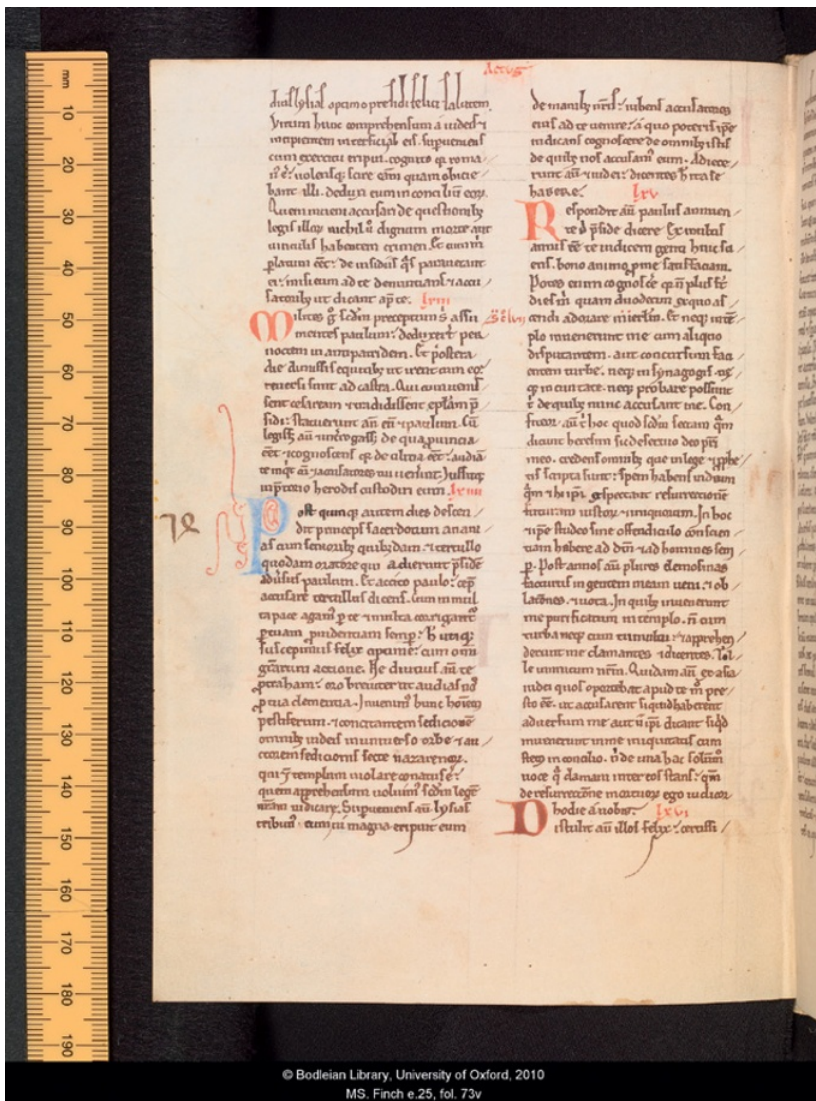


Figure 2.7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Finch e.25, fol. 73v.



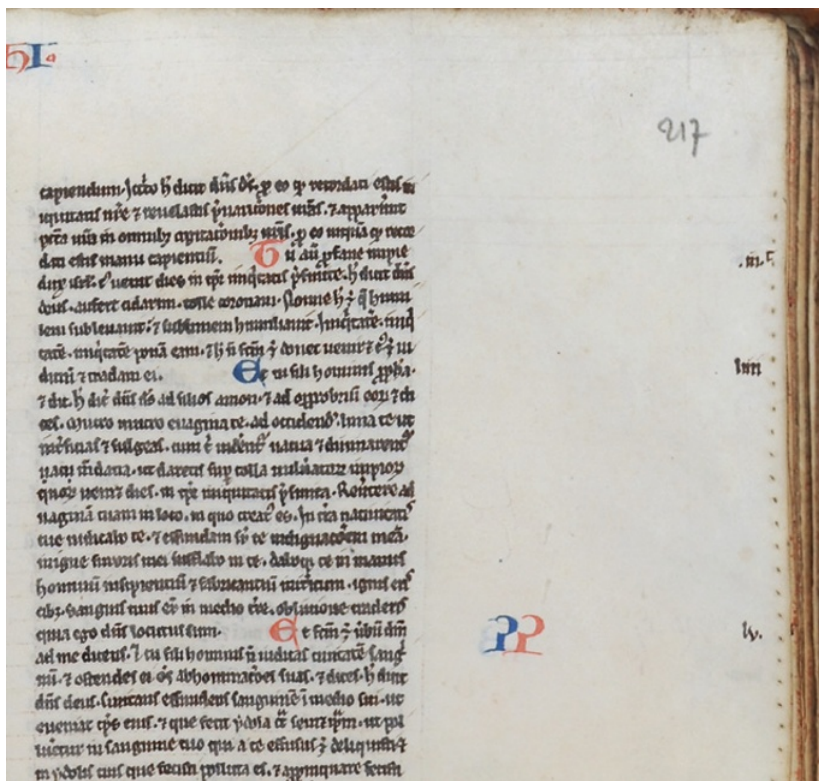


Figure 2.9. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 5, fol. 217r.



Figure 3.2. DCL, A.II.3, fol 20v (Initial to Exodus).



Figure 3.3. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 176r (Initial to Judith).





Figure 3.4. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 306v (Initial to Hosea).



Figure 3.5. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 110v (Initial to 3 Kings).





Figure 3.6. DCL, A.II.3, fol. 34or (Initial to Matthew).





PLATE X

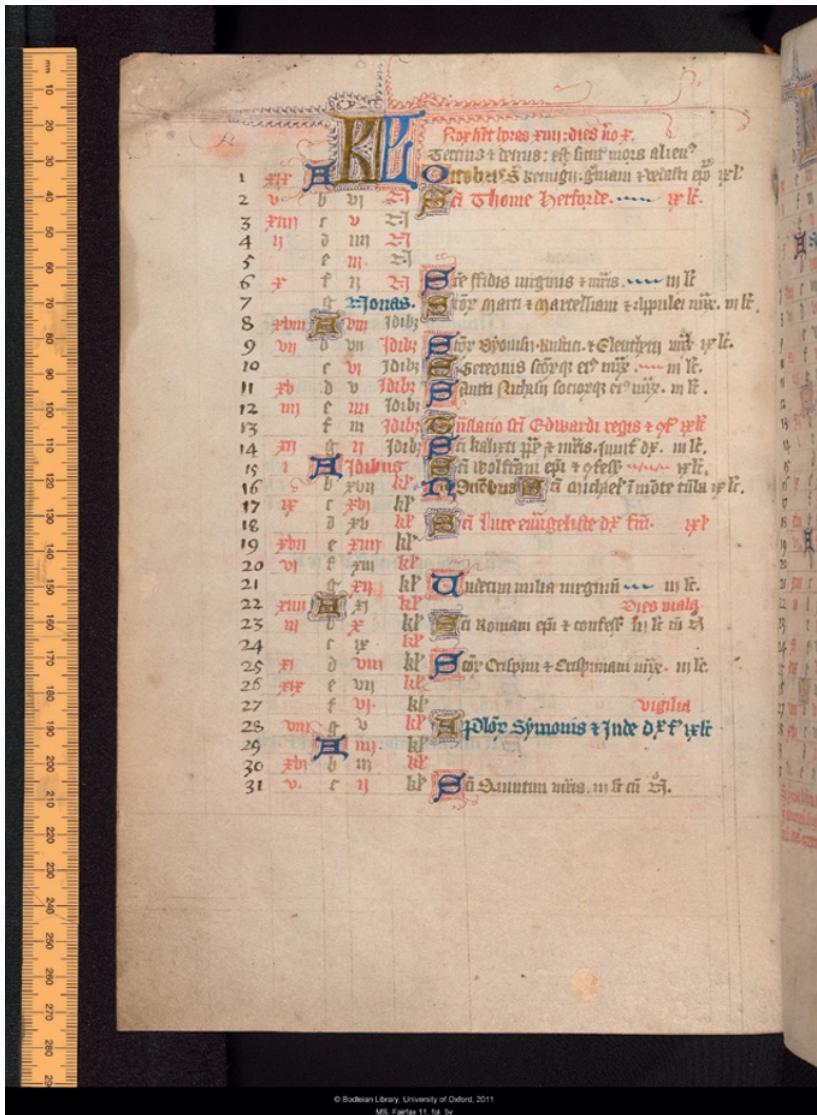


Figure 14.2. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 11, fol. 5v (Calendar page for October).